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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE "WHITEWASHING" MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT.

In the Senate on the 10th Dec., Mr. Cowan said a message had just been received from the President in response to a resolution calling for information as to the condition of the States lately in rebellion. He called for the reading of that message.

The Message of the President was read, as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

In reply to the resolution adopted by the Senate on the 12th, I have the honor to state that the rebellion waged by a portion of the people against the properly constituted authorities of the Government of the United States has been suppressed; that the United States are in possession of every State in which the insurrection existed, and that as far as could be done the Courts of the United States have been restored, post-offices reestablished, and steps taken to put into effective operation the revenue laws of the country. As the result of the measures instituted by the Executive, with the view of inducing a resumption of the functions of the State, comprehended in the inquiry of the Senate, the people in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee have reorganized their respective State governments, and are yielding obedience to the laws and Government of the United States with more willingness and greater promptitude than under the circumstances could reasonably have been anticipated. The proposed amendment to the Constitution providing for the abolition of Slavery forever within the limits of the country has been ratified by each one of these States, with the exception of Mississippi, from which no official information has been received; and in nearly all of them measures have been adopted, or are now pending, to confer upon the freedmen the privileges which are essential to their comfort, protection, and security. In Florida and Texas the people are making commendable progress in restoring their State governments, and no doubt is entertained that they will at an early period be in a condition to resume all of their practical relations with the Federal Government. In that portion of the Union lately in rebellion the aspect of affairs is more promising than, in view of all the circumstances, could well have been expected. The people throughout the entire South evince an audible desire to renew their allegiance to the Government, and to repair the devastations of war by a prompt and cheerful return to peaceful pursuits. An abiding faith is entertained that their actions will comform to their professions, and that in acknowledging the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws of the United States their loyalty will be unreservedly given to the Government, whose leniency they cannot fail to appreciate, and whose fostering care will soon restore them to a condition of prosperity. It is true that in some of the States the demoralizing effects of the war are to be seen in occasional disorders; but these are local in character, not frequent in occurrence, and are rapidly disappearing as the authority of the civil power is extended and sustained. Perplexing questions were naturally to be expected from the great and sudden change in the relations between the two races; but systems are gradually developing themselves under which the freedman will receive the protection to which he is justly entitled, and by means of his labor make himself a useful and independent member of the community in which he has his home. From all the information in my possession, and from that which I have recently derived from the most reliable authority, I am induced to cherish the belief that sectional animosity is surely and rapidly merging itself into a spirit of nationality, and that representation connected with a prosperly adjusted system of taxation will result in a harmonious restoration of the relations of the State to the National Union.

The report of Carl Schurz is herewith transmitted, as requested by the Senate. No report from the Hon. John Covode has been received by the President. The attention of the Senate is invited to the accompanying report of Lieut.-Gen. Grant, who recently made a tour of inspection through several of the States, whose inhabitants participated in the Rebellion.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 18th, 1865.

GEN. GRANT'S REPORT.

Mr. Cowan then called for the reading of a report made to the President by Gen. Grant, concerning his late visit in the South.

Gen. Grant's report was read as follows:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, Dec. 18, 1865.

His Excellency A. JOHNSON, *President of the United States.*

SIR: In reply to your note of the 16th inst., requesting a report from me, giving such information as I may be possessed of, coming within the scope of the inquiries made by the Senate of the United States, in their resolution of the 12th inst., I have the honor to submit the following, with your approval, and also that of the Honorable Secretary of War.

I left Washington City on the 27th of last month for the purpose of making a tour of inspection throughout some of the Southern States lately in rebellion, and to see what changes were necessary in the disposition of the military forces of the country, how these forces could be reduced, and expenses curtailed, etc.; and to learn, as far as possible, the feelings and intentions of the citizens of these States towards the General Government. The State of Virginia being so accessible to Washington City, and information from this quarter, therefore, being readily obtained, I hastened through the State without conversing or meeting with any of its citizens. In Raleigh, N. C., I spent one day; in Charleston, S. C., two days, and in Savannah and Augusta, Ga., each one day. Both in travelling and while stopping, I saw much and conversed freely with the citizens of those States, as well as with officers of the army who have been stationed among them.

The following are the conclusions arrived at by me. I am satisfied that the mass of thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith. The questions which have hitherto divided the sentiments of the people of the two sections—Slavery and State Rights, or the right of a State to secede from the Union—they regard as having been settled forever by the highest tribunal—arms—that men can resort to. I was pleased to learn from the leading men whom I met that they not only accepted the decision arrived at as final, but now the smoke of battle has cleared away and time has been given for reflection, that this decision has been a fortunate one for the whole country, they receiving the like benefits from it with those who opposed them in the field and in the council. Four years of war, during which law was executed only at the point of the bayonet throughout the States in rebellion, have left the people possibly in a condition not to yield that ready obedience to civil authority the American people have generally been in the habit of yielding. This would render the presence of small garrisons throughout those States necessary until such time as labor returns to its proper channel, and civil authority is fully established. I did not meet any one, either those holding places under the Government or citizens of the Southern States, who thought it practicable to withdraw the military from the South at present. The white and the black naturally require the protection of the General Government. There is such universal acquiescence in the authority of the General Government throughout the portions of the country visited by me, the mere presence of a military force, without regard to numbers, is sufficient to maintain order. The good of the country requires that the force kept in the interior where there are many freedmen (elsewhere in the Southern States, than at forts upon the seacoast, no force is necessary), should all be white troops. The reasons for this are obvious. Without mentioning many of them; the presence of black troops, lately slaves, demoralizes labor, both by their advice and furnishing in their camps a resort for the freedmen for long distances around. White troops generally excite no opposition, and, therefore, a small number of them can maintain order in a given district. Colored troops must be kept in bodies sufficient to defend themselves. It is not the thinking men who would do violence toward any class of troops sent among them by the General Government; but the ignorant in some places might; and the late slave, too, who might be imbued with the idea that the property of his late master should by right belong to him, at least should have no protection from the colored soldier. There is danger of collision being brought on by such cause. My observations lead me to the conclusion that the citizens of the Southern States are anxious to return to self-government within the Union as soon as possible; that while reconstructing they want and require protection from the Government; that, they think, is required by the Government, and is not humiliating to them as citizens; and that if such a course was pointed out, they would pursue it in good faith. It is to be regretted that there cannot be a greater commingling at this time between the two sections, and particularly of those intrusted with the law-making power.

I did not give the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau that attention I would have done if more time had been at my disposal. Conversations, however, on the subject, with officers connected with the Bureau, led me to think that in some of the States its affairs have not been conducted with good judgment or economy, and that the belief, widely spread among the freedmen of the Southern States, that the lands of their former owners will, at least in part, be divided among them, has come from the agents of this Bureau. This belief is seriously interfering with the willingness of the freedmen to make contracts for the coming year. In some form the Freedmen's Bureau is an absolute necessity, until civil law is established and enforced, securing to the freedmen their rights and full protection. At present, however, it is independent of the military establishments of the country, and seems to be operated by the different agents of the Bureau, according to their individual notions. Everywhere Gen. Howard, the able head of the Bureau, made friends by the just and fair instructions and advice he gave. But the complaint in South Carolina was that when he left things went on as before. Many, perhaps the majority of the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, advise the freedmen that by their own industry they must expect to live. To this end they endeavor to secure employment for them, and to see that both contracting parties comply with their engagements. In some cases, I am sorry to say, the freedman's mind does not seem to be disabused of the idea that the freedman has the right to live without care or provision for the future. The effect of the belief in the division of lands is idleness and accumulation in camps, towns, and cities. In such cases I think it will be found that vice and disease will tend to the extermination or great destruction of the colored race. It cannot be expected that the opinions held by men at the South for years can be changed in a day. And, therefore, the freedmen require for a few years not only laws to protect them, but the fostering care of those who will give them good counsel, and on whom they can rely. The Freedmen's Bureau being separated from the military establishment of the country requires all the expense of a separate organization. One does not necessarily know what the other is doing, or what orders they are acting under. It seems to me this could be corrected by regarding every officer on duty with troops in the Southern States as agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and then have all orders from the head of the Bureau sent through the Department commanders. This would create a responsibility that would create uniformity of action throughout the South, would insure the orders and instructions from the head of the Bureau being carried out, and would relieve from duty and pay a large number of employees of the Government.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, U. S. GRANT, Lieut.-Gen.

Selections.

SPEECH OF HON. THADDEUS STEVENS.

[On Tuesday of last week Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, offered a series of resolutions on reconstruction, and supported them by the following address. During its delivery the utmost attention was given him, many members crowding around his chair. Several Senators and other distinguished persons were present:]

MR. STEVENS said: A candid examination of the power and proper principles of reconstruction can be offensive to no one, and may possibly be profitable by exciting inquiry. One of the suggestions of the message which we are now considering has special reference to this. Perhaps it is the principle most interesting to the people at this time. The President assumes, what no one doubts, that the late rebel States have lost their Constitutional relations to the Union, and are incapable of representation in Congress, except by permission of the Government. It matters but little, with this admission, whether you call them States out of the Union and now conquered Territories, or assert that because the Constitution forbade them to do what they did do, they are therefore only dead as to all national and political action, and will remain so until the Government shall breathe into them the breath of life anew and permit them to occupy their former position—in other words that they are not out of the Union, but only dead carcasses lying within the Union. In either case it is very plain that it requires the action of Congress to enable them to form a State government, and send representatives to Congress. Nobody, I believe, pretends that, with their old constitutions and forms of government, they can be permitted to claim their old rights under the Constitution. They have torn their constitutions into atoms, and built on their foundations fabrics of a totally different character. Dead men cannot raise themselves; dead States cannot restore their own existence as it was. Whose especial duty is it to do it? In whom does the Constitution place the power? Not in the judicial branch of the Government, for it only adjudicates and does not prescribe laws. Not in the Executive, for he only executes and cannot make laws. Not in the Commander-in-Chief of the armies, for he can only hold them under military rule until the sovereign legislative power of the conqueror shall give them law. There is fortunately no difficulty in solving the question. There are two provisions in the Constitution under one of which the case must fall. The fourth article says "new States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union." In my judgment this is the controlling provision in this case. Unless the law of nations is a dead letter, the late war between two acknowledged belligerents severed their original compacts, and broke all ties that bound them together. The future condition of the conquered power depends on the will of the conqueror. They must come in as new States, or remain as conquered provinces. Congress—the Senate and House of Representatives—with the concurrence of the President, is the only power on earth that can act on the matter. But suppose, as some dreaming theorists imagine, that these States have never been out of the Union, but have only destroyed their State governments, so as to be incapable of political action, then the fourth section of the fourth article applies, which says, "the United States shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government." Who is the United States? Not the Judiciary, nor the President; but the sovereign power of the people exercised through their representatives in Congress, with the concurrence of the Executive. It means the political government, the concurrent action of both branches of Congress and the Executive. The separate action of each amounts to nothing, either in admitting new States or guaranteeing republican governments to lapsed or outlawed States. Whence springs the preposterous idea that either the President, or the Senate, or the House of Representatives, acting separately, can determine the right of States to send Members or Senators to the Congress of the Union? To prove that they are and have been out of the Union for all legal purposes, and are now conquered subjects at the absolute disposal of Congress, I will suggest a few ideas and adduce a few authorities. If the so-called Confederate States of America were an independent belligerent, and were so acknowledged by the United States and by Europe, or had assumed and maintained an attitude which entitled them to be considered and treated as a belligerent, then during such time they were precisely in the condition of a foreign nation with whom we were at war, nor need their independence as a nation be acknowledged by us to produce that effect.

Mr. Stevens then quoted from Mr. Justice Grier in the prize cases all the law on these points. After such clear and repeated decisions, he said, it is something worse than ridiculous to hear men of respectable standing attempting to nullify the law of nations, and declare the Supreme Court of the United States in error, because, as the Constitution forbids it, the States could not go out of the Union *de facto*. After proceeding further in his argument, he remarked, it is obvious that the first duty of Congress is to pass a law declaring the condition of these outside or defunct States, and providing proper civil government for them. Since the conquest, they have been governed by martial law. Military rule is necessarily despotic, and ought not to exist longer than is absolutely necessary. As there are no symptoms that the people of these provinces will be prepared to participate in a constitutional government for some years, I know of no arrangement so proper for them as Territorial governments. There they can learn the principles of freedom, and eat the fruit of foul rebellion under such governments. While electing members to the Territorial Legislatures they will necessarily mingle with those to whom Congress shall extend the right of suffrage. In the Territories, Congress fixes the qualifications of electors, and I know of no better place or better occasion for the conquered rebels and the conqueror to practice justice to all men, and to accustom themselves to make and to obey all laws. As to these rebels, they cannot at their option re-enter the heaven which they have disturbed, nor the garden of Eden which they have deserted, as flaming swords are set at the gates to secure their exclusion. It becomes important to the nation to inquire when the doors shall be reopened for their admission. According to my judgment they ought never to be recognized as capable of acting in the Union or being counted as valid States, until the Constitution shall have been so amended as to make it what its framers intended, so as to secure a perpetual ascendancy to the party of the Union, and so as to render Republican Government firm and stable forever. The first of these amendments is to change the basis of membership to actual voters. Now all the colored freemen in the slave States and three-fifths of the slaves are represented, though none of them have votes. The rebel States have 19 representatives of colored slaves. If the slaves are now free, then they can add for the other two-fifths, 13 more, making the slave representation 32. I suppose the free blacks in those States will give at least five more, making the representation of non-voting people of color about 37. The whole number of representatives now from the slave States is 70; add the other two-fifths, and it will be 83.

If the amendment prevails, and those States withhold the right of suffrage from persons of color, it will deduct about 37, leaving them but 45. With the apportionment unchanged, the 83 Southern members, with the Democrats that will in the best times be elected from the North, will always give them a majority in Congress and in the Electoral College. They will at the very first election take possession of the White House and the Halls of Congress. I need not depict the ruin that would follow. The assumption of the Rebel debt or repudiation of the Federal debt would be sure to follow. The oppression of the freedmen, the reamendment of the State Constitutions, and reestablishment of Slavery would be the inevitable result. That they would scorn and disregard their present Constitutions, forced upon them in the midst of martial law, would be both natural and just. No one that has any regard for the freedom of elections can look upon those governments, forced upon them in duress, with any favor. If they should grant the right of suffrage to persons of color, I think there would always be Union white men enough in the South, aided by the blacks, to divide the representation and thus continue the Republican ascendancy. If they should refuse thus to alter their election laws, it would reduce the representatives of the late Slave States to about 45, and render them powerless for evil. It is plain that the amendment must be consummated before the defunct States are admitted to be capable of State action, or it never can be. The proposed amendment to allow Congress to lay a duty on exports is precisely in the same situation. Its importance cannot well be overstated. It is very obvious that for many years the South will not pay much under our internal revenue laws. The only article on which we can raise any considerable amount is cotton. It will be grown largely at once. With ten cents per pound export duty it would be furnished cheaper to foreign markets than they could obtain it from any other part of the world. The late war has shown that. Two millions of bales exported at 500 pounds to the bale, would yield $100,000,000. This seems to be the chief revenue we shall ever derive from the South. Besides it would be a protection to that amount to our domestic manufacturers. Other proposed amendments, to make all laws uniform, to prohibit the assumption of the Rebel debt, are of vital importance, the only thing that can prevent the combined forces of Copperheads and Secessionists from legislating against the interests of the Union whenever they may obtain an accidental majority. But this is not all we ought to do before these inveterate rebels are invited to participate in our legislation. We have or are about to turn loose 4,000,000 of slaves without a hut to shelter them or a cent in their pockets. The infernal laws of slavery have prevented them from acquiring an education or from understanding the commonest laws of contract or from managing the ordinary business of life. This Congress is bound to provide for them until they can provide for themselves. If we do not furnish them with homesteads and hedge them around with protective laws, if we leave them to the legislation of their late masters, we had better have left them in bondage. Their condition would be worse than our prisoners in Andersonville. If we fail in this great duty now, and when we have the power, we shall deserve and receive the execrations of history and all future ages. Two things are of vital importance. So to establish a principle that none of the rebel States shall be counted in any of the Amendments of the Constitution until they are duly admitted into the family of States by the law-making power of their conquerors. For more than six months the Amendment of the Constitution abolishing slavery has been ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States that acted on its passage by Congress, which had Legislatures, or which were States capable of acting or required to act on that question. I take no account of the aggregations of whitewashed rebels, who, without any legal authority, have assembled in the capitals of the late rebel States and simulated legislative bodies. Nor do I regard with any respect the cunning by-play into which they deluded the Secretary of State by frequent telegraphic announcements that "South Carolina had adopted the Amendment," "Alabama has adopted the Amendment, being the twenty-seventh State," etc. This was intended to delude the people and accustom Congress to hear the names of these extinct States as if they were alive, when in truth they have no more existence than the revolted cities of Latium, two-thirds of whose people were colonized and their property confiscated and their right of citizenship withdrawn by conquering and avenging Rome.

It is equally important to the stability of this Republic that it should now be solemnly decided what power can revive, recreate, and reinstate these provinces into the family of States, and invest them with the rights of American citizens. It is time that Congress should assert its sovereignty and assume something of the dignity of a Roman Senate. It is fortunate that the President invites Congress to take this manly attitude. After stating with great frankness in his able Message his theory which, however, is found to be impracticable, and which I believe very few now consider tenable, he refers the whole matter to the judgment of Congress. If Congress should fail firmly and wisely to discharge that high duty, it is not the fault of the President. This Congress owes its own character to set the seal of reprobation upon a doctrine which is becoming too fashionable, and, unless rebuked, will become the recognized principle of our Government. Gov. Perry, and other Provisional Governors and orators, proclaim that this is the white man's Government. The whole Copperhead party, pandering to the lowest prejudices of the ignorant, repeat the cuckoo cry, "This is the white man's government." Demagogues of all parties, even some high in authority, grovelling, shouting, "This is the white man's government." What is implied by this? That one race of men is to have the exclusive right forever to rule this nation and to exercise all acts of sovereignty, while all other races and nations and colors are to be their subjects and have no voice in making the laws and choosing the rulers by whom they are to be governed. Wherein does this differ from Slavery, except in name? Does not this contradict all the distinctive principles of the Declaration of Independence? When the great and good men promulgated that instrument and pledged their lives and sacred honors to defend it, it was supposed to form an epoch in civil government. Before that time it was held that the right to rule was invested in families, dynasties, or races—not because of superior intelligence or virtue, but because of a divine right to enjoy exclusive privileges. Our fathers repudiated the whole doctrine of the legal superiority of families or races, and proclaimed the equality of all men before the law; upon that they created a revolution and built the Republic. They were prevented by Slavery from perfecting the superstructure whose foundation they had broadly laid. For the sake of the Union they consented to wait, but never relinquished the idea of its final completion. The time to which they looked forward with anxiety has come. It is our duty to complete their work. If this Republic is not now made to stand on their great principles, it has no honest foundation, and the Father of all men will still shake it to its centre. If we have not yet been sufficiently scourged for our national sin to teach us to do justice to all God's creatures, without distinction of race or color, we must expect the still more heavy vengeance of an offended Father, still increasing his inflictions as He increased the severity of the plagues of Egypt until the tyrant consented to do justice, and when that tyrant repented of his reluctant consent, and attempted to reenslave the people, as our Southern tyrants are attempting to do now, he filled the Red Sea with broken chariots and drowned horses, and strewed the shores with dead carcases.

The Speaker—I trust that the Republican party will not be alarmed at what I am saying. I do not profess to speak their sentiments; nor must they be held responsible for them. I speak for myself and take the responsibility, and will settle with my intelligent constituents. This is is not a white man's Government in the exclusive sense in which it is used. To say so is political blasphemy, for it violates the fundamental principles of our gospel of liberty. This is man's government, the government of all men alike. Not that all men will have equal power and sway within it; accidental circumstances, natural and acquired endowment and ability will vary their fortunes—but equal right to all the privileges of the Government is innate in every immortal being, no matter what the shape or color of the tabernacle which it inhabits. If equal privileges were granted to all I should not expect any but white men to be elected to office for long ages to come. The prejudice engendered by Slavery would not soon permit merit to be preferred to color. But it would still be beneficial to the weaker races. In a country where political divisions will always exist, their power, joined with just white men, would greatly modify if it did not entirely prevent the injustice of majorities without the right of suffrage in the late Slave States. I do not speak of the Free States. The slaves had far better been left in bondage. I see it stated that very distinguished advocates of the right of suffrage declared in this city that they do not expect to obtain it by Congressional legislation but only by administrative action; because, as one gallant gentleman said, the State had not been out of the Union; then they will never get it. The President is far sounder than they. He sees that administrative action has nothing to do with it. If it ever is to come it must be by Constitutional amendments, or Congressional action in the territorial and enabling acts. How shameful these men of influence should mislead and mis-educate the public mind. They proclaim this is the white man's Government, and the whole coil of Copperheads re-echo (hiss) the same sentiments, and upstart, jealous Republicans join the cry. Is it any wonder ignorant foreigners and illiterate natives should learn this doctrine and be led to despise and maltreat a whole race of their fellow-men? Sir, this doctrine of a white man's government is as atrocious as the infamous sentiment that damned the late Chief Justice to everlasting fame, and I fear to everlasting fire.

SUFFRAGE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

From the Chicago Tribune.

A WASHINGTON Associated Press dispatch states that Senator Wilson presented the petition of 2,500 citizens of the District of Columbia asking for the right of suffrage. Says the dispatch:

"The petitioners set forth that a large proportion of the colored citizens of the District are property-holders and taxpayers. They claim that as they are sufficiently intelligent to build and sustain churches and institutions of learning, and to accumulate property, they are competent to vote; that for years they have been obliged not only to educate their own children, but to contribute to the support of the schools in which only white children were taught; that the record of the colored people as to crime and pauperism is as fair as that of any other class in the country. Out of a population of less than fifteen thousand, they sent four thousand five hundred soldiers into the field, while the white population of over sixty thousand furnished only fifteen thousand; and the colored soldiers volunteered without the incentive of large bounties, pay, or promotion."

There are some telegraphic errors in the figures given. The blacks of the district number about 20,000, and sent 3,500 soldiers into the field. The whites sent more men to the rebel than to the Union army. The blacks furnished *seven times* as many men in proportion to numbers as the whites. The whites sent one man to forty inhabitants. The blacks sent one man to five and a half inhabitants. And, as the petition sets forth, the colored soldiers volunteered without the incentive of large bounties, pay, or promotion, but from pure patriotism and love of the Union, while the whites received enormous bounties.

The petition of the colored citizens, sets forth other good reasons why the suffrage should be conferred upon them, besides that of patriotic military services. They claim that as they are sufficiently intelligent to build and sustain churches and school houses, and to accumulate property, they are also competent to vote. For years the blacks have been taxed to educate the children of white people, while their own children have been excluded from the free schools. And as to crime and pauperism, the whites furnished a larger per cent than the colored people. Taken all together, these certainly constitute weighty reasons in favor of conferring the franchise on them. But a majority of the whites of the District strenuously oppose it. Some of them go so far as to propose to surrender the city government and charter, rather than let the colored citizens enjoy the elective franchise.

The white Republicans of Washington are warmly in favor of colored suffrage. It is the rebel and Copperhead population who so bitterly object. If the blacks were enfranchised, they could not rule the District, as they number but one-fourth of the population; but they would vote the Republican ticket, and their votes added to the white Republicans, would constitute a majority, and there is where the shoe pinches. The Copperheads and rebels rule the local government at pleasure. The thousands of clerks in the Departments are generally not citizens of the District, but of the States whence they came, and, therefore, can not vote at charter elections.

When the franchise is conferred on the colored citizens, about 3,500 votes will be added to the Republican party, which will enable it to carry the District.

We do not see how any member of Congress, except Copperheads, can vote against conferring the suffrage on the petitoners. They are *citizens* as well as the whites. They are more law-abiding and fully as self-supporting. They are as moral and religious, and if somewhat inferior in point of education, they are decidedly superior in point of love for the Union and fealty to the Constitution. It is hard to understand on what principles of right or justice the 2,000 surviving colored soldiers belonging to the District, who have perilled their lives and attested their loyalty for the Union, shall be denied the right of suffrage, while it is freely conferred on the 2,000 returned and paroled rebels. Why should not this reinforcement to Copperheadism be off-set by an equal reinforcement to Unionism? There is no Constitutional question in the way. Congress preserves exclusive and unlimited jurisdiction over the matter; then let justice be done, and that speedily.

A CURIOUS CHAPTER IN NEGRO HISTORY.

From the N. Y. Times.

THE MAROONS OF JAMAICA.—THEIR ORIGIN AND THEIR PRESENT POSITION.

IN the accounts published by the Jamaica newspapers of the late negro insurrection in that island, we find it stated that a people called the Maroons were called upon by the Governor of the colony to assist in suppressing the outbreak, and that they rendered prompt and valuable aid to both the civil and military authorities in the disturbed district. The following is the proclamation that was issued to them by His Excellency the Governor at the commencement of the disturbances:

Maroons of Jamaica! We have great trust in you as loyal subjects of the Crown!

In times gone by you did the Crown good service!

Your services are again required! You may earn rewards and honor by your loyalty!

A brutal, murderous, and barbarous insurrection has broken out in St. Thomas in the East! Peaceable, unoffending men (who have ever been your friends) have been killed!

The Governor and the government call upon you to join our forces, and of yourselves separately, to do all that lies in your power to assist to put down this murderous outbreak.

Martial law has been proclaimed!

A reward of $2,000 will be paid to you or to any one, who will take Paul Bogle, a principal ringleader, and $500 for any ringleader in these outrages.

Seize and hand over to the nearest military station any of the rebellious people wherever you may find them, and for so doing, and for any information you may give to any of our magistrates, officers, soldiers, or other persons in authority, you will in due time be suitably rewarded.

Issued under the authority of His Excellency the Governor and Executive Committee.

God save the Queen.

It will be seen, from the opening sentences of this address, that the Maroons of Jamaica have a history, and as many people, after reading the recent news from that island, have expressed a curiosity to know who the Maroons are, we propose briefly to relate their history.

As to race, the Maroons are negroes—pure blacks. As to habitat, several thousands of them are to be found in Jamaica, dwelling in mountain settlements or townships of their own, apart from the other portion of the black population. For a time a number of them found a home in the British Province of Nova Scotia, but were subsequently removed to Sierra Leone, where they have intermingled with the native African population. How these came to be separated from their brethren in Jamaica, first becoming dwellers in the wintry North, and afterwards finding their way to "fatherland," will appear in the sequel.

In the year 1655, an English combined naval and military expedition, under the joint command of Penn and Venables, was sent out by Cromwell for the conquest of the island of St. Domingo; but having failed in that object, these commanders, unwilling to return to England without having something commensurate to the importance of their enterprise, turned their attention to the Island of Jamaica—at that time belonging to Spain—and soon made themselves masters of it. The Spanish inhabitants are said to have possessed before the attack of the English about 1,500 enslaved Africans, most of whom, on the surrender of their masters, retreated to the mountain fastnesses of the Island, from whence they made frequent excursions to harass the English. Maj.-Gen. Sedgwick, one of the British officers, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe (1656), predicted that these blacks would prove a thorn in the sides of the English; adding that they gave no quarter to his men, but destroyed them whenever they found an opportunity, scarcely a week passing without their wounding one or more of them; and as the soldiers became more confident and careless, the negroes grew more enterprising and bloody-minded. The General's prediction was verified by events, and the English soon found it necessary to employ a military force for the subjugation of these dangerous neighbors. After years of irregular warfare, and of varying successes on both sides, the blacks at length found themselves so hard pressed by the English, that the main body of them, under the command of a negro named Juan de Bolas, whose place of retreat in the Parish of Clarendon (Jamaica) still retains his name, solicited peace, and surrendered to the English on terms of pardon and freedom. A large party, however, remained in their retreats within the mountains, where they not only augmented their numbers by natural increase, but after the Island became more thickly sown with plantations, they were frequently reinforced by fugitive slaves. These becoming more confident, made frequent raids on the interior plantations, and intimidated the whites from venturing to any considerable distance from the sea-coast.

This was the origin of the Maroons. According to Mr. Long, the historian of Jamaica, the word maroon signifies, among the Spanish Americans, hog-hunter, the woods at that time abounding with the wild boar, and the pursuit of them constituting the chief employment of the fugitive negroes. But Bryan Edwards, who wrote a history of the West Indies toward the end of the last century, says that, according to the *Encyclopédie*—a French work—the term is derived from the Spanish word *simaram*, which signifies a monkey, and was applied to the fugitive negroes because, like that animal, they retreated into the depths of the woods, coming out only to collect the fruits to be found in the immediate neighborhood of their retreats.

The Maroons proved troublesome and indomitable foes to the English settlers. Forces were repeatedly sent out against them, but every attempt to subjugate them failed. They continued to distress the Island for upwards of forty years, during which time, says Long, forty-four acts of Assembly were passed, and at least £240,000 expended for their suppression; and in 1730 they were grown so formidable, under a very able General named Cudjoe, that it was found necessary to strengthen the colony against them by two regiments of regular troops, which were afterwards formed into independent companies, and employed, with other hired parties, for their reduction. All this failed. Resort was then had to the Mosquito Indians, who, it was thought, would be more than a match for the Maroons in bush-fighting. Two hundred of those people were accordingly imported into Jamaica, and employed against the dreaded enemy. But the Maroons baffled the Indians, and continued to bid defiance to the colonists, who, in their extremity, were compelled to advise Gov. Trelawney, in 1738, to propose overtures of peace to the chiefs. These overtures were accepted; articles of pacification were signed; and certain lands in the Island, amounting in the whole to several thousand acres, were assigned to the Maroons in perpetuity. The preamble of the articles is curious and is worth transcribing here. It is as follows:

"In the name of God, amen. Whereas Capt. Cudjoe, Capt. Accompong, Capt. Johnny, Capt. Cuffee, Capt. Quaco, (all African names, except Johnny), and several other negroes, their dependents and adherents, have been in a state of war and hostility for several years past against our sovereign Lord the King and the inhabitants of this Island; and whereas, peace and friendship among mankind, and the preventing the effusion of blood is agreeable to God, consonant to reason and desired by every good man; and whereas, His Majesty King George II., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, of Jamaica Lord, Defender of the Faith, etc., has by his letters patent, dated February the 24th, 1738, granted full power and authority to John Guthrie and Francis Sadler, Esquires, to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the aforesaid Capt. Gudjoe, and the rest of the captains, adherents, and others his men, they mutually, sincerely, and amicably have agreed to the following articles," etc., etc.

According to this treaty the Maroons were to reside within certain boundaries, apart from all other negroes.

Peace having been thus established, the Maroons settled upon the lands which had been assigned them, and employed themselves in a sort of rude tillage, which was performed principally by the women, while the young men hunted the wild boar, whose flesh they prepared for market by a peculiar process of their own, in which no salt was used. They were employed also by the planters in capturing slaves who had run away from the plantations, receiving so much per head for the fugitive negroes they took. For nearly sixty years they gave no further trouble to the colonists; but in 1795 they once more raised the standard of revolt. The cause of this outbreak, known in Jamaica history as the "Maroon war," was a trifling incident; but the conduct of the Maroons on the occasion shows the spirit of that people. It appears that one of their number at Trelawney Town had been convicted before the Magistrate on a charge of having stolen two pigs, and was sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes. The flogging was given by the black overseer of the prison in which the negro slaves were confined for punishment; and that a Maroon should be treated like a slave—flogged like a slave by a black overseer—aroused the indignation of these people, who forthwith flew to arms to avenge their wounded honor. Negotiation was tried by the whites, and failed. The aged men and the more moderate among the Maroons counselled prudence and forbearance, but the younger and more impetuous spurned this advice, and hostilities were commenced. Troops in considerable numbers were sent against them, in their mountain settlements, but for months they succeeded in keeping the military at bay, cutting off several detachments of soldiers, both of the regulars and militia; while they occasionally sallied forth from their fastnesses, burning plantations and killing the white people living on them. At length, as a *dernier ressort*, the expedient was hit upon of employing Spanish bloodhounds to track them in the woods, and one hundred of these ferocious animals, accompanied by forty chasseurs, or hunters, were imported from the Island of Cuba for that purpose. No sooner did the Maroons hear of the arrival of these dogs than they expressed a willingness to come to terms, and soon after a treaty was concluded, the principal conditions being that the Maroons should ask pardon of the King on their knees—that the Legislature of the colony should fix their residence in such part of the Island as it might think proper—and that the Maroons should deliver up all the fugitive slaves living among them. Peace was thus restored; but on the plea that the Maroons had failed to comply with the last-named condition, the Legislature, instead of assigning them lands for a new settlement in some other part of Jamaica, adopted a resolution to transport the late belligerents in a body from the colony. Accordingly in June, 1796, six hundred of them were shipped off to Nova Scotia, where they settled; but after a few years, on the ground that they were found intractable and troublesome, they were deported to the black settlement of Sierra Leone. The conduct of the Assembly in causing these people to be transported was considered by many at the time a gross breach of faith, and Gen. Walpole, who commanded the forces that had been employed in their subjugation, and concluded the treaty of peace with them, declined to receive a sword, for which the Assembly had voted the sum five hundred guineas, as an acknowledgment of his valuable services. There were three other settlements of the Maroons in Jamaica, but these not having been drawn into hostilities, were allowed to remain; and it is to their descendants, who still live very much as their fathers lived in the last century, that Gov. Eyre issued his proclamation during the late troubles in that Island. The services to which the Governor refers, as rendered by the Maroons to the Crown in times past are, we suppose, the share of military duty they bore during a rebellion of the slaves in the parish of St. Mary, Jamaica, in the year 1760, and the assistance they gave to the militia toward the suppression of the negro revolt of 1831-32, when the slaves in the western part of the Island rose in insurrection.

THE REPORT OF GEN. SCHURZ.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

MAJ.-GEN. SCHURZ did his work well. When we remembered the gossip which his journey created, and the anxiety among the mossy people to have the report suppressed, we felt that it was extremely incendiary, and that its writer had at least recommended a general insurrection of the slaves, or more probably a universal massacre of the whites. We find no such bloody intentions. Gen. Schurz has written a calm, straightforward narrative, sustaining every point he makes by a cloud of witnesses. We may call Carl Schurz a Radical. He probably leans that way. This report is not merely his record, but that of Canby and Gillmore, Steedman and others. We regret we have no room for these accompanying documents. But Gen. Schurz renders that unnecessary by giving a synopsis of each opinion. In no case, as we find by comparing his report with his authorities, does he make his case stronger than his witnesses permit him. Therefore, these words of Carl Schurz are not the opinions of one man. They are the opinions of generals, planters, agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, citizens of the South. Gathered by the President's direction, and for his own information, they possess more than usual importance.

Gen. Schurz went South three months after the surrender of Lee. He found the people in the temper of defeat and humiliation. They were submissive, repentant, anxious to accept any terms. Their loyalty was more demonstrative than now, for they were on good behavior. They had not begun to count the chances of managing Northern Congressmen. They were more anxious about bread than power. His experiences will be peculiarly forcible some six months later, when the bread is certain, power probable, and the then experiment of reconstruction has become a policy. He found that no sense of the meaning of the war had entered into the minds of the Southern people. They had taken the oath as a mere necessity. They regarded the army of occupation as invaders—enemies in peace as they had been in war. "Loyalty in South Carolina," says Gen. Gillmore, "is not the golden fruit of conviction, but the stern and unpromising result of necessity." As an evidence of how the Carolinians construe law, he says that "the ordinary vagrancy and apprenticeship laws now in force in some of the New-England States could be so administered and enforced upon the blacks in South Carolina as to keep them in practical Slavery. Gen. Steedman, Commander in Georgia, says the people "are submissive, not loyal." The only people in Alabama who celebrated the Fourth of July were the freedmen. If the troops leave Mississippi, according to Gen. Osterhaus, "the state of affairs would be intolerable for all Union men." Gen. Canby says that in Louisiana "the political and commercial combinations against the North are gaining in strength every day." Nothing certainly has occurred on our part, since July, to lend to a regeneration of the Southern heart. They have found sanctification without works, and we cannot expect a lively exercise of unnecessary faith. They have shown no national feeling. The utter absence of any American sentiment horrifies Gen. Schurz. The negro has been reduced to a condition of practical Slavery. In no Southern State has he been permitted to rise to his feet. Laying aside the question of suffrage, we see no indication on the part of the whites of any sympathy. Not even the Presidential liberty of self-labor is left to the freedmen. That is to say, they can only labor in such a way that the former masters may have bone and sinew, flesh and blood, and build up their broken fortunes out of the lives and comfort of a race which made them and their ancestors rich, and proud, and powerful.

We come back to one fact, that grows upon us every day, and receives new strength from every indication of Southern action and sentiment. The mistake has been our failure to impose suffrage on the South in the hour of our triumph. This was the time to have settled the Slavery question forever. It is absurd to say that such action would have been Southern humiliation. The defeat of Lee meant everything to

Mark! It is only an opinion. There is doubt about it. Perhaps yea, probably nay. This was the doubt of July, when the whole South was under armed men. Is it a doubt now?

Far be it from us to say one word that might postpone the happy hour of national reunion. No one longs more earnestly for the time when the Senators from thirty-six States may answer to their names. Those who accuse us of any attempt to needlessly postpone this time do us a cruel injustice. We see no such indication in the report of Gen. Schurz. The lesson of his instructive and eventful mission is thus truly summed up:

"The General Government of the Republic has commenced a great social emancipation of the slaves, by proclaiming the revolution in the South; but has, as yet, not completed it. Only the negative part of it is accomplished. The slaves are emancipated in point of form, but free labor has not yet been put in the place of slavery in point of fact. And now, in the midst of this critical period of transition, the power which originated the revolution is expected to turn over its whole future development to another power which, from the beginning, was hostile to it, and has never yet entered into its spirit; leaving the class in whose favor it was made completely without power to protect itself, and to take an influential part in that development. The history of the world will be searched in vain for a proceeding similar to this which did not lead either to a rapid and violent reaction, or to the *most serious trouble* and civil disorder."

We cannot escape this philosophy. It is criminal to tamper with it. The South is in our hands like so much potter's clay. We can make it what we please—a nation of peace, freedom, virtue, and prosperity, or the scene of new wars and devastation, dismanned and dismantled commonwealths, agriculture abandoned, no ships nestling in Southern ports, no busy humming looms, the negro crushed, the master impoverished or in exile—anarchy. Never did America require bolder statesmanship than now. We trust that the President may accept the conclusions of his commissioner, for we know that he is patriotic and bold enough to carry out whatever policy the good of the South may demand. He has been as one in darkness and anxious to see the light. When the light falls upon the true path he is not the man to abandon it.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1865.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

THE STANDARD Subscribers to whom bills are sent, will confer a favor by remitting the amounts due at their earliest convenience.

THE WHITEWASHING MESSAGE.

THE message of President Johnson, which we print under its proper head on the first page, cannot be regarded as anything less than a declaration of war against Congress. By repeated votes, Congress has avowed itself in favor of a policy of delay. The President steps in to proclaim himself in favor of immediate restoration of the rebellious States to all their forfeited rights and privileges. It is obvious that he sought, and arranged for, this opportunity to measure his strength against the representatives of the people. His message is sent in response to a resolution of the Senate on the 12th inst., which was presented by one of the President's partisans and mouthpieces, Mr. Cowan of Pennsylvania. Of course, Mr. Cowan did not offer such a resolution without having first understood that the President desired it. The request for the reports of Gen. Schurz and Mr. Covode formed no part of the original resolution, but was added on motion of Mr. Sumner. All Mr. Cowan proposed to elicit from the President was his opinion whether the rebellion had been suppressed, and how soon the States could come back—those being the two points on which the views of the Executive and of Congress were well known to be discordant. Unless in answer to some such resolution, Mr. Johnson could have found no decent pretext for adding another message to that which he sent in at the beginning of the session.

Were there any doubt of the understanding between the President and Mr. Cowan, subsequent events would prove it. Closely following the message, came a speech in the House from the leader of the Conservative Republicans, Mr. Raymond of New York, intended as an answer to the speech of Thaddeus Stevens last weeek, and an avowal of adhesion to the doctrines of the message and the political fortunes of the President. Nearly contemporaneous with the message was Mr. Seward's ratification proclamation, accompanied and re-enforced by the successive removals of the Provisional Governors, and the remission of five States to the government of what the President chooses to regard as their proper legislatures and executives. Everything points to the one conclusion that Mr. Johnson had resolved on a demonstration in favor of his own policy and against the known purpose of Congress. He showed good generalship in concentrating all his forces at once on the field of battle. Whether he showed a sound judgment in bringing on a general action at all, the issue of the conflict alone can determine.

It is material we should understand, and admit, and assert, that the conflict between President and Congress does exist. The declarations of Senator Wilson and Mr. Greeley to the contrary ought not to deceive any body but themselves. For either the President and Congress are agreed, or they are not. If they are agreed, then they both favor the same reconstruction policy. But they do not favor the same policy; one is for haste, the other for delay; one for readmission, the other for exclusion; one for surrendering the States to rebel governments, the other for maintaining therein the authority of the Union. What is gained, then, by pretending there is no conflict, when not only do President and Congress disagree in their views of policy, but each takes pains to declare its own opinion, and the President does his utmost to anticipate and forestall the lawful jurisdiction of Congress over the whole question? If Senator Wilson and the *Tribune* care either for their own influence in the country or for the cause they profess to defend, they will do well to admit the conflict, and gird themselves manfully to meet it. The first condition of success in such a case is to make up your mind to the fight.

All honor to Mr. Sumner for the promptness with which he branded this apology of the President as a "whitewashing message"—a message to which there was no parallel since the whitewashing message of Franklin Pierce at Kansas. The epithet is one that will stick, one of those happy descriptions which hit the popular mind better than a column of argument. Mr. Johnson strove to paint the Southern States other than they are, to overlay with apology their faults and crimes, their disloyalty, their persistent cruelty to the blacks—in a word to "whitewash" them. Everybody understands on the instant what that means.

We are willing to test the sincerity of the President and the fairness of the message by a single example. Mr. Johnson says that "in nearly all" the States, "measures have been adopted or are now pending to confer upon the freedmen the privileges which are essential to their comfort, protection, and security." The States enumerated are North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee. Two of these, Louisiana and Arkansas, do not belong to the catagory of States reconstructed according to Johnson. In two more, North Carolina and Georgia, we do not know that any code for the freedmen has been adopted. In Alabama, the "vagrant act" passed by the legislature provides for the re-establishment of slavery, not omitting the lash and the auction-block. In Mississippi, the legislature very lately adopted an act prohibiting the leasing of lands to the freedmen, and the President himself issued an order to the Freedmen's Bureau to disregard that statute and protect the blacks against its iniquitous purpose. In Tennessee, a bill to allow the freedmen to testify in court has been defeated by the votes of those East Tennessee loyalists who form the chief constituency of Gov. Brownlow, are the most clamorous for admission into Congress, and enjoy the benefit of an unlimited Presidential endorsement. In South Carolina, the code presented to her legislature by Messrs. Burt and Wardlaw comprises three distinct methods of reducing the freedmen once more to slavery. That exhausts the list of States, and includes all the measures which the President sanctions as calculated "to confer upon the freedmen the privileges essential to their comfort, protection, and security." The North will judge whether the measures are such as the President describes them. If they are, it may accept his recommendation for the immediate readmission of the rebel States. But if it finds them full of malice against the freedmen whom they profess to protect, the President's approval may do more to impair popular confidence in his integrity, than to advance the projects of the rebel leaders.

The President particularly invites the attention of the Senate to the report of Lieut.-Gen. Grant "who recently made a tour of inspection through several of the States whose inhabitants participated in the rebellion." We echo the invitation, and in order that the precise value of Gen. Grant's testimony may be appreciated, we copy his own account of his tour:

"The State of Virginia being so accessible to Washington city, and information from this quarter, therefore, being readily obtained, I hastened through the State without conversing or meeting with any of its citizens. In Raleigh, N. C., I spent *one day*, in Charleston, S. C., *two*, and in Savannah and Augusta, Ga., *each one day*. Both in travelling and while stopping, I saw much and conversed freely with citizens of those States, as well as with officers of the army who have been stationed among them."

Exactly five days in all! That is the extent of the observation upon which President Johnson bases his opinions—five days by a General whose principal duty was military inspection, who was surrounded by a pro-slavery staff, and who saw no other persons than such as Gen. Rawlins chose to introduce to him. The report of Gen. Schurz, based on months of travel, uninterrupted access to the Southern people both white and black, and minute observation of facts, is dismissed by the President with a curt and contemptuous mention, and with total disregard of its statements and conclusions. We suppose the truth is that Gen. Schurz was sent in search of facts to sustain the Presidents reconstruction experiment. The facts being obstinate, Mr. Johnson continues equally so, and pursues his policy like that other philosopher whose theory came in collision with the facts—"So much the worse for the facts!" Gen. Grant proved more pliable. His report did not supply the material for Mr. Johnson's opinions, but Mr. Johnson's opinions supplied the material for Gen. Grant's report.

The dismissal of the Provisional Governors is welcomed by the pro-slavery press as an admission of the perfect right of the States to self-government, and as precluding the interference of Congress with reconstruction. That is a shallow notion. Congress has the same right it always had. It did not lose that right by the appointment of Provisional Governors; it certainly will not lose it by their removal. The legislatures convened by those Governors were all illegal, and their acts will not acquire any new force now that their authors disappear from the scene. We do not know that we regret their departure. Their successors are no worse and no better than they, and the condition of the blacks will continue unchanged. All the President has accomplished is to emphasize his purpose to betray the freedmen into the hands of their old masters, and that we knew before. But for all purposes of congressional legislation, we conceive the rebel States to be in the same position now that they occupied when Mr. Johnson began his experiment.

GOV. ORR'S IDEAS.

IT may not be easy to say whether Mr. James L. Orr be actually Governor of South Carolina, but we give him the title by courtesy. There has been an election, or what passes for such, by a portion of the people of South Carolina, and Mr. Orr had a majority of the votes cast. Yet long after that election, the President directed Provisional-Governor Perry to continue to exercise *his* functions. Mr. Perry obeyed this mandate in a very Pickwickian way by delegating Mr. Orr as his agent. The President did not appear to recognize Mr. Orr's agency, for subsequent dispatches from Mr. Seward were still addressed to Mr. Perry as Provisional Governor; but Mr. Perry in turn declined to recognise himself, and handed over the documents to Mr. Orr. South Carolina, in fact, had two titular Governors, one of whom dated from the Executive Department, addressed the other as "His Excellency, Governor Orr," and signed his epistle "B. F. Perry, Provisional Governor of South Carolina." "Under which King," must have been a puzzling question just then to the chivalry. Now, however, the President finds it convenient to forget his previous objections to Mr. Orr; for he wants a puppet to make his reconstruction farce complete, and presents Mr. Orr to Congress and the country as a full-fledged Governor of a loyal State.

If the test of Governorship be the delivery of addresses, both claimants are entitled. Of Mr. Perry's speeches, messages, addresses, and other communications, the public is by no means forgetful. The last thing we remember of him is his graceful description of the new Slave Code of his State as a "wise, just, and humane system for the protection of the freedmen." Nothing that we have observed in Mr. Orr's recent address is quite equal to that, yet the latter is not without claims to a genuine South Carolina popularity. It seems to be necessary for the most completely reconstructed officials to talk a certain amount of Confederate buncombe, and Mr. Orr is no exception to the rule. For instance:

"All of our old landmarks in politics have been swept off by the perils of war.' Our social and industrial systems have perished from the same unrelenting and unpitying cause. Some of our most distinguished citizens and many of our most promising young men *have fallen martyrs to the ancient principles of South Carolina.*"

It is remarkable with what ingenuity Gov. Orr, like all the writing and speaking tribe of ex-rebels, contrives to avoid the admission that the South was beaten, or whipped, or conquered, or anything of that sort, in the war. "We were exhausted," he mournfully reiterates, "our armies surrendered, our last available recruit had been sent to the front, our resources were all consumed, and we succumbed to the power of the United States!" That is certainly a fine specimen of the art How Not to Say It, and proves that Gov. Orr has graduated in his time out of a first-class Circumlocution Office. Indeed, it is difficult not to remember that in other days he was a Member of Congress—and doubtless expects to be again.

Mr. Orr is good enough to admit that the doctrine of Secession is now exploded, "for any practical purpose." That the theory is still clung to, he takes some pains to show, by uniformly referring to the rebellion as a "revolution." With reference to the future, he remarks that the final remedy for disregard of State Rights by the Federal Government is still "revolution, which, *if unsuccessful*, is treason." If any doctrine of this address be more mischievous than another, it is the adroit comparison of the rebellion to the Revolution of 1776, implied in the remark that the people of South Carolina have emerged from the war "in no worse condition than our forefathers when *they* came out of the Revolution."

All that there is in South Carolina of white loyalty or Unionism, even of the mildest type, voted in the late election for Mr. Orr, and chose him, most unexpectedly, over the hottest fire-eater in the State. What Gov. Orr says, therefore, on the subject of the freedmen, indicates the utmost we have any right to expect in the nature of voluntary concession of rights to them by the white population. It amounts to just this—that it is "the fixed purpose of the people to secure to him his rights of person and property *as a freedman*"—but by no means as a *freeman*;—that he is to be paid for his labor, and protected against fraud and violence. Alas! there is no fraud so mean, no violence so cruel, no injustice so oppressive, as that which derives security from the forms of law. What Mr. Orr calls the fixed purpose of the people to do justice to the freedman is getting stereotyped into statutes that are blacker than any slave laws of the old régime. Those statutes rest on the exact pretence which Gov. Orr again puts forward—that the negroes "must be restrained from theft, idleness, vagrancy, and crime, and taught the absolute necessity of strictly complying with their contracts for labor." Are the whites to be similarly restrained and taught? Gov. Orr knows that the system which his Legislature is intent on enacting makes a breach of contract on the part of a negro a penal offence, for which he may be sold into slavery. If the white breaks *his* part of it, the negro has a civil action for damages before a white magistrate. To abolish this iniquitous system, there is but one way; and Gov. Orr, and all other Governors, real or sham, must learn it—to legislate neither for white nor black, but make all men equal before the law.

"WOMAN'S RIGHTS."

WE print this week Mrs. Stanton's letter and the petition of the Woman's Rights Committee; meaning that our columns shall be hospitable to a good cause, but not meaning to be pledged to its immediate advocacy. This journal is the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and is devoted to the work of that Society. Mrs. Stanton's wit, therefore, does not touch us when she forbears from the cruelty of taxing "white male citizens" with two simple questions at a time. Nevertheless, we shall not shrink from exposing ourselves to the force of her protest against an exclusive devotion to the cause of the negro. We do not conceal our conviction that this is "the negro's hour"—an hour which, as it is improved or wasted, may crown with complete victory thirty years toil in his behalf, or once more commit him to the vindictive ferocity of the system from which he seems about to escape. It is an hour in which it is certainly perilous and may be fatal to relax any energy hitherto devoted to his emancipation, or to allow any fraction of our strength to be diverted to another issue. Hence, we cannot agree that the enfranchisement of women and the enfranchisement of the blacks stand on the same ground, or are entitled to equal effort at this moment. They certainly are not identified in the popular mind, and Mrs. Stanton must see that while there is a strong party in Congress who can be brought to vote directly or indirectly for putting the ballot in the hands of the blacks, no considerable portion of those votes could be carried now for an amendment to the Constitution which should include women.

Thirty years of agitation and four years of war have created this costly opportunity. If we let it pass, it passes forever, or at any rate, for a generation. For that reason we have no right, from an anxiety for something beside justice to the negro, to throw away a single chance of securing it for him. Causes have their crises. That of the negro has come; that of the woman's rights movement has not come.

SOUTHERN TEMPER.

WE have more than once quoted on various points the Southern correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser* as a witness of unusual fairness and intelligence. Instead of facts, those who do not wish well to the blacks supply us with endless conjectures and misrepresentations. They belong to that class of vague and windy declaimers to whom Dr. Holmes's precept is applicable—"Stick a fact into them, like a stiletto." So here are a few facts from one who has had a chance to use his eyes, and has apparently improved it. We condense from one of the latest and longest letters in the *Advertiser*.

The men in Georgia, who urge that the negro ought to be justly treated, are the exception, not the rule. The Legislature has a code for the freedmen before it, which it is thought will be less obnoxious than that now enacting in South Carolina. The reverse of the picture, however, is thus painted:

"There is a general disposition among the middle and lower classes of whites to trample upon the few rights already guaranteed to the negro. I have heretofore said that I know there are members elect of the Legislature who are pledged to vote against allowing him the simple right to give evidence in cases where his own people are concerned; and I am very positive that the freedmen's code will be of very obnoxious, not to say barbarous, spirit when it leaves that body, unless the voice of the North is heeded more than now appears probable."

Slavery still has to be tenderly dealt with. A Mr. Caldwell preached two sermons on the Abuses of Slavery. The Presiding Elder removed him, and the Methodist Annual Conference at Macon sustained the Elder. The objections to attacks on Slavery do not appear to be theoretical or historical; they relate to the future. "Take the troops away, and admit the Congressional delegation," said one Georgian, "and I give you my solemn word that I believe three-fourths of the counties of the State would vote for such a penal code as will reduce half the negroes to a state of Slavery within a year." It is added that while few people in Georgia believe in colonization, a great many believe in extermination—supposing, of course, the schemes for re-establishing Slavery fail. The whites are fond of saying the two races cannot possibly live together; and they say it in a way that indicates they mean to make their theory a fact.

That the blacks will not work is untrue; that they are loth to enter into contracts is perfectly true, and with good reason. The blacks do not trust their old masters except where their old masters give some better cause for being trusted than the recollections of a lifetime of slavery. But when they act on the theory that the negro has some rights which a white man is bound to respect, there seems to be no trouble. We have heard of many such cases as the following:

"A Macon gentleman who has a plantation below Albany told me of his experience. He was in the army of Johnston, and came home in the early part of June. He heard that many planters were losing their help, and at once went down to his plantation, called his negroes together, made them a little speech, told them they were free, and could go where they pleased, said he would be glad to have them remain where they were, and would pay them fair wages for fair work. Some conference followed, resulting in arrangements mutually satisfactory. The negroes were faithful to their work all through the season, he has fairly set off to them their share of the crops made, and everything on his plantation has prospered. He has added about 50 to the hands thereon, and made a contract for the coming year with the whole number. Yet his neighbors, proceeding on the assumption that the freedmen will not work, have of course found all kinds of difficulty with them, and are generally unable to make contracts for next season. *I have yet to hear of a single instance in which the method adopted by this gentleman has failed in securing work.*"

In view of which experience, the correspondent may, perhaps, be pardoned for his energetic remark that to say the negro will not work simply because he is free, "in the most insolent of all the humbugs of Southern society." Another of those humbugs is the common statement of the Southern whites that the negroes all expect a division of the lands at Christmas. But—"I have made numberless inquiries among them upon this point, and I declare my confident conviction that the assertion is untrue." Hence it cannot well follow that this expected possession of land is the cause of the refusal, so often commented on, to make contracts for the coming year. Before such contracts can be generally made and kept, the element of confidence must enter into them on both sides.

The management of the Freedmen's Bureau, as too often happens, leans toward the interest of the planters rather than of the negroes. "The citizens of the State are excessively anxious to be let alone with regard to the freedmen." Gen. Tillson respects this desire by the direction to his subordinates that all very important cases shall be tried before the regular civil tribunals, whenever the testimony of freedmen can be admitted. Well, suppose it is admitted, who can compel a Georgia magistrate to believe it when his white neighbor swears the other way; or if he believes it, can compel him to give judgment in accordance with his belief? It is a fantastic justice to hand over the negroes to State or local courts. The purpose of the Bureau is, or should be, to see that *real* justice is done, and its agents ought to be too intelligent to be cheated by the offer of admitting negro testimony in cases where negroes are parties.

Gen. Tillson is the official who lately told the freedmen at Athens, Ga., "That they must not consider themselves the equals of the white man, and that they never could be; that they had no right to vote, and that, though they were free, freedom imposed duties which, if not faithfully performed, might make their condition much worse than it ever was when they were slaves!" A man capable of saying that is in-capable of discharging his duties as an officer of the Freedman's Bureau, and it will surprise nobody to be told that he has succeeded in an unusual degree in gaining the confidence of the planters and losing that of the blacks. The planters believe the military power will be used to compel the negro to make and keep contracts for the ensuing labor season; the blacks believe—they know not what, under such an officer. Their present condition is deplorable; surely far worse than it need be, were there but a competent Commissioner of the Bureau in charge. Of their future, this is the judgment formed:

"The negro's prospects are not, on the whole, as good as they ought to be in this great State. He has freedom in name, but it will be some time before he gets it in fact. *His hope lies in the continued military occupation of the State, and the continued existence of the Freedmen's Bureau.* Even with these for his aid and protection, his condition is bad enough; take these away, and in a good portion of the counties he would very soon not even have left the name of freedman. And, in a word, and at the least, there is for him much weary waiting and much conflict with hardheaded prejudice before he can reach even the lowest place in civil society and the body politic."

We trust this testimony may be read and pondered by those with whom it now rests to prescribe the conditions on which Georgia is to return into the Union. If she comes back before the freedom of her blacks is secured by something stronger than a parchment guarantee, emancipation will prove a curse to them instead of a boon.

THE "RECONSTRUCTED" IN MISSISSIPPI.—Brevet Maj.-Gen. Fisk has received at Nashville the following letter from an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau at LaGrange, Tenn., over the line from Mississippi:

OFFICE BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS, LA GRANGE, TENN., Dec. 12, 1865.

GENERAL: I have the honor to call your attention to the following state of facts:

In Mississippi it seems to be the fixed determination of the citizens to reduce the freedmen to their former condition. There are now four companies organized in Marshall county, which have instructions as follows:

"The Governor directs that you disarm the negroes within the limits of your company beat. In executing this order you will abstain from all violence: but should resistance be offered, you will employ force sufficient to accomplish your object. All U. S. arms will be turned over to the nearest U. S. military authorites." Signed by James M. Kennard, Adjutant-General of Mississippi.

JUSTICE.

This, we suppose, is one of those "measures adopted, or now pending, to confer upon freedmen the privileges which are essential to their comfort, protection, and security," which the President commends in his last message. It certainly is no worse than most of the other measures, though it is the undoubted prelude to a massacre of the blacks.

THE Senate Reconstruction Committee was appointed by the President of the Senate, Lafeyette S. Foster, of Connecticut, and is quite worthy of an officer hailing from a State which votes down negro suffrage. Mr. Sumner is left off, and Mr. Fessenden of Maine, who is a Hunker, and distinguished himself last session by voting steadily to cheat the negro troops out of their pay, is put in his place. Mr. Grimes is an Administration partisan, with Radical moments. Harris, of New York, is a Conservative and a trimmer. Johnson, of Maryland, is a pro-slavery Democrat. Williams, of Oregon, is a new member, perhaps with leanings toward Radicalism. The only member of the Committee who would probably follow Mr. Stevens' lead throughout is Mr. Howard, of Michigan.

It amounts to this, therefore, that Mr. Foster has made a Committee of five Conservatives and one Radical—five Senators for the President, and one for the negro. But, thanks to Speaker Colfax's fidelity, there is still a Radical majority in the whole Committee; seven of the nine members of the House being on the right side.

THE pirate Semmes has been arrrested in Alabama, and taken to Washington to be tried by court martial. It was of courşe supposed he was to be tried for piracy, but it is now stated that the charge against him—preferred by Secretary Welles—is violating the usages of war, and the specification sets forth that after hoisting the white flag on the Alabama, he escaped to avoid actual surrender, and did subsequently, without having been exchanged, engage in hostilities. Undoubtedly Semmes was guilty of the act charged, but it is so trivial in comparison to his other crimes that the charge is frivolously absurd. If the Government has not the courage to try Semmes as a pirate, better let him go. It might as well court martial Jefferson Davis for not wearing the Federal uniform while commander-in-chief of the Rebel forces.

THE *Tribune*, in a recent issue, defines a "loyal" journal as "one which holds that, in the pending reconstruction or restoration of the Southern States, *that portion of their people who were* FOR *the Union in our late struggle shall be accorded at least* EQUAL *rights and privileges with the portion who were* AGAINST *it, and fought for its overthrow and destruction.*"

If that definition may be transferred from newspapers to persons—and why should it not be?—President Johnson is not "loyal." He certainly is not in favor of according equal rights to the loyal blacks. Yet the *Tribune*, though a champion of Impartial Suffrage, is also a champion of the President who opposes it. Is that "loyal?"

"PERLEY"—not a Radical—writes to the Boston *Journal*:

"President Johnson is master of the situation. While many, in Congress and out of it, believed that he had submitted the reconstruction question to the Legislative branch of Government, Mr. Johnson cut the gordian knot. Alabama and Georgia, perhaps other States recently in rebellion, are now as entirely emancipated from the control of the General Government over their local matters as is Massachusetts. When the Provisional Governors gave way to the elected State authorities, there was an end to the martial law which had been established by conquest. In Europe Mr. Seward's proclamation and letters would have been called a *coup d'etat*; here it is styled a *blank movement*, and a successful one at that, so far as the re-establishment of the States is concerned."

AT a meeting of the planters of Marlboro district, South Carolina, the following, among other resolutions, were adopted:

"Resolved, That we, the planters of the district, pledge ourselves not to contract with any freedman, unless he can produce a certificate of regular discharge from his former owner.

"Resolved, That under no circumstances whatsoever will we rent land to any freedmen, nor will we permit them to live on our premises as employés."

Yet we presume those planters are foremost to complain to every Provost Marshal and newspaper correspondent that the negroes won't work.

ARRANGEMENTS are making for the meeting of colored delegates from the different States, to urge upon Congress the propriety of granting the right of Suffrage to the colored men of the United States. A preliminary meeting will be held in Washington on the 8th of January, at which Fred. Douglass and other prominent anti-slavery orators are expected to be present.

A SAVANNAH editor of the reconstructed sort has so far advanced in loyalty as to hint to his readers that it is "poor taste for the audience at the theatre to hiss national airs whenever played by the orchestra."

By and by he may gather courage to suggest that the indiscriminate shooting of negroes and white Union officers who command them is not a "tasteful" proceeding.

MESSRS. FRANCIS & LOUTRELL, Stationers, No. 45 Maiden Lane, have sent us a generous quantity of stationery for STANDARD use; also an elegant memorandum book for 1866. In return we tender them the compliments of the season, with the wish that their establishment, one of the best in the city, may enjoy a liberal share of the public patronage.

A LETTER from an officer of the Freedmen's Bureau in Charleston, S. C. says:

"I can give you no idea of the corruptions of this most wicked city. Nearly all of our Northern men are ruined by their acquaintance with the slaveholders—they first take a glass of wine, then whiskey, then they begin to damn the 'niggers' and in a short time are no better than the old pirates of of this State, and they are as bad as any on earth."

PERSONAL.

Madame Jenny Lind Goldschmidt is obliged to pass the winter in the south of Europe for the benefit of her health.

The parliamentary reporter of the London *Times*, Mr. Thornton, has just retired, having been on duty forty years without having missed a night at the House of Commons.

Gen. Schofield's arrival in Paris created a great sensation, it being reported that he was the bearer of a message from President Johnson to the Tuileries, demanding the immediate withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico.

Horace Maynard being asked what he thought of the prospects of the Tennessee Delegation since the last action of the House, said he thought Thad. Stevens had the whole Southern Confederacy in his breeches pocket, and meant to keep it there for a good while!

Jacob Barker, member of Congress elect from Louisiana, left Washington several days ago for home. Others from the South are following his example, and will not return until Congress has acted on the reconstruction question.

Senator Doolittle, the enemy of Negro Suffrage and friend of President Johnson, will receive his reward, it is said, by appointment as Secretary of the Interior in place of Mr. Harlan, who retires on account of his opposition to the President's reconstruction policy.

John B. Clark, the rebel Congressman and General, and known in politics as the man who introduced the infamous Helper book resolution in the 35th Congress, was lately seen comfortably seated on the floor of the House, while one armed soldiers of the Union were dancing attendance on their members in the lobby.

Col. John T. Mosby, the famous guerilla, who has probably done more mule-stealing than any man living, is associated with Aylett Nichols, Esq., the prosecuting attorney in the trial of Mr. Styles, internal revenue collector for the district of Prince William County, Va., who is himself on trial charged with mule-stealing.

Gen. Grant's report of his military operations was written by his Chief-of-Staff, Gen. Rawlins. Not a line of it came from Grant's own pen. Journals—the N. Y. *Times*, for instance—which have found in the report "an independent value as an exponent of the character of the writer" and "an individuality which identifies the man with the style" will please make a note of the fact.

Lewis D. Campbell is appointed to the Mexican mission in place of Gen. Logan, who declined some days ago. Mr. Campbell was several years ago a Congressman from Ohio, and, in company with Mr. Banks, did his best to betray the Anti-Slavery Cause in the Nebraska contest; has been a Know-nothing, and calls himself an "Old Line Whig"! He is a personal friend of President Johnson and is appointed against the protest of the Ohio Republicans.

Gen. Grant's report in favor of immediate restoration is said to have considerably lessened his chances of being made full General, with increased pay, as Mr. Washburne's bill in the House proposes. The Radical majority may not prove disposed to heap honors on a man who joins the alliance against them. Some of the Illinois politicians assert that he is in favor of abolishing the test oath—which Congress by an immense majority has just declared indispensable.

A railroad contractor came one day to Gen. Steedman, now in command of the Department of Georgia, and asked for a military force to compel the negroes to work in repairing the line from Savannah to Augusta. "They won't work," he said. "How much do you pay them?" *asked the General, who has been a railroad and canal* contractor from his boyhood up. "Ten dollars." "The deuce!" said Steedman; "you go and give 'em thirty, and see whether they'll work *then*. I never gave a man less than 87½ cents a day in my life. I think I could get a brigade at that price here. You go and try it." He went.

Among the late rebel generals, Buckner of Kentucky is now associate editor of a New Orleans paper; Gardner, of Port Hudson memory, is a local reporter; while the general who drove off Franklin and his fifteen thousand at Sabine Pass, is a barkeeper at Houston. Gen. C. F. Anderson opened a butcher stall at Atlanta, but has become an auctioneer at Augusta. Gen. B. M. Thomas, a West Point graduate, is clerk on a steamer plying between Mobile and Montgomary. Forrest and Wheeler, the most prominent cavalry leaders after the death of Stuart, are employed, the former running a saw-mill in Tennessee, and the latter in a commission business at Augusta.

The House of Representatives, during the first week of the session, in the scramble for office that was going on, passed a resolution declaring that it was contrary to the sense of the House for the son of any member to be appointed to office. It would have been well if the Senate had passed such a resolution. The official register just out shows that Senator Clark, of N. H., has a son as Doorkeeper of the Senate Reporter's Gallery, and Senators Cowan and Doolittle each has a son Clerk in the Senate. The influence exercised in such a direction may be very earnestly questioned in the Senate as it has been already in the House.

Of Frederick Douglass, the New Bedford *Standard* says:

"Twenty-seven years ago a fugitive from Southern bondage found his way to this city. He received here his first earnings as a freeman. He obtained employment in a foundry, and while blowing the bellows his eyes were fixed on the newspaper slip stuck up before him, from which he was striving to obtain knowledge. After toiling here for a few years, encouraged by a few who recognized in him the capacity of being more than a mere day laborer, he went to other and higher fields of toil. Two evenings ago that fugitive slave lectured before our Lyceum to the largest audience of the season, listened to attentively by an audience composed of the best class of our citizens. The next morning he breakfasted with the gentleman who paid the first nine-pence he earned twenty-seven years previously."

The following letter from Hon. Charles Sumner to Mrs. Cobden is published in the London papers:

"BOSTON, October 5, 1865.

"MY DEAR MADAM: I have been charged by the convention of the Republicans of Massachusetts, over which I had the honor of presiding, to communicate to you resolutions unanimously adopted by them, expressing their grateful regard for the memory of your late husband, and their sympathy with you in your bereavement. Knowing Mr. Cobden personally as I did for many years, and corresponding with him on public questions, I confess a sense of personal loss beyond even that of my fellow-citizens. He was the good friend of my country and he was my own private friend. Therefore, in making this communication I desire to express my own individual grief. His lamented death has caused a chasm, not only in his own home and country, but here in the United States. We all miss him and mourn him. He was a wise and a good man. Though an Englishman by birth, his heart and all his faculties were given to mankind, knowing well that the welfare and true glory of his own great country were best assured by such a dedication. Hoping that you may be consoled in your great bereavement and that your children may be blessed in life, I ask you to accept the respect with which I have the honor to be, dear madam, your very faithful servant, CHARLES SUMNER."

The Washington correspondent of the Boston *Post* indulges in the following estimate of sundry Senators and Representatives:

"The Joint Committee on Reconstruction will not hold a session until Congress reassembles after the holiday recess. Its complexion, both as regards the Senate and House, is radical—so radical, indeed, that the extremists in and out of Congress freely boast that no Southern Representative will be admitted during the 39th Congress. Senator Trumbull, of Illinois, was generally ranked as a Conservative, but the political complexion of the Illinois Legislature before which he is a candidate for Senatorial re-election is such as to compel him to become a Radical. The Illinois Republicans have, however, no faith in him and openly declare that he will be superseded in the Senate either by Gen. Logan or the present Governor of Illinois. So much for a sacrifice of principle for position. Mr. Raymond, of New York, has thoroughly repudiated the Stevens-caucus platform, has renounced the discipline that made him bow to the Radical programme, and on the reassembling of Congress will lead off in support of the President and the Conservatives. He will probably be followed by about thirty Conservative Republican members of the House."

LITERARY.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY. January, 1866. Ticknor and Fields.

This popular periodical opens its first number for the new year with passages from the Note Books of the Biographer of Franklin Pierce, whereof the following specimen will probably satisfy our readers:

"A sketch to be given of a modern reformer—a type of the extreme doctrines on the subject of slaves, cold water, and other such topics. He goes about the streets haranguing most eloquently, and in on the point of making many converts, when his labors are suddenly interrupted by the appearance of a keeper of a mad-house, whence he has escaped. Much may be made of this idea."

That belongs to the fossil period. Why should the *Atlantic* cast it up at this late day? Is it because the magazine has really no editor? Or was it to give a touch of verisimilitude to this sensible suggestion?—

"The peculiar weariness and depression of spirits which is felt after a day wasted in turning over a magazine or other light miscellany, different from the state of the mind after severe study; because there has been no excitement, no difficulties to overcome, but the spirits have evaporated insensibly."

"Beauty and the Beast" is an entertaining Russian story by Bayard Taylor. Stories, indeed, occupy the largest share of the number, and are, as usual, of various merit. The second part of Charles Reade's "Griffith Gaunt" is not inferior in interest to the first, and if we may fairly judge from a couple of chapters, we should say no novel of Reade's yet published has equalled the present in crispness of style and finish of execution. Miss Hardinge tells a weird story under the title of "The High Tide of December" which would have been more effective if some other than the stale device of a dream had been used. Gail Hamilton, who always contrives a surprise in her titles, pleads for half-holidays on Saturday under the odd headline "The Kingdom Coming." "The Chimney Corner" of Mrs. Stowe is this month devoted to a "Family Talk on Reconstruction," and more matters beside. Of the poetry, we have copied Mr. Bryant's "Castles in the Air" on the fourth page. Mr. Longfellow has a few melodious lines on "The Bells of Lynn, heard at Nahant," and somebody else contributes "Wind the Clock."

MESSRS. TICKNOR AND FIELDS will begin, January 6, the publication of a weekly journal entitled "Every Saturday: A Journal of Choice Reading, Selected from Current Literature." It is the design of the publishers to produce the choicest selections from European periodicals, in a form at once attractive and inexpensive. Its plan embraces incidents of travel and adventure, essays critical and descriptive, stories, poems, literary intelligence, etc., and it will be printed in octavo form, double columns, 32 pp.

DEMOREST'S ILLUSTRATED MONTHLY for January, 1866, presents its readers with the Grand Indian March from Meyerbeer's L'Africaine, copious illustrations of fashions, and a variety of readable tales and other literary matter. This magazine has a place of its own, which it fills to the satisfaction of its readers.

OUR YOUNG FOLKS for January presents us with a portrait of Mrs. Stowe, and an illustration by H. L. Stephens, being two passable pictures in one number—a great improvement on previous performances. The literary contents are various and excellent, and the magazine bids fair to be this year as last without a rival in the favor of the boys and girls.

A correspondent of *L'Europe* gives the following curious details of the publication of Gustave Doré's illustrated Bible, which he derived from Madame Mame, wife of the publisher. The edition cost M. Mame, whose celebrated printing press is at Tours, the sum of £24,000 (600,000f.) The two volums contain 228 plates; for each design M. Doré received £16 (400f.) The engraving of each plate cost from £40 to £50—(1,000f. to 1,400f.) M. Mame edited the work from mere love of art, and without the least expectation of realizing any benefit therefrom; he merely hoped to recover the money he laid out on it. His hopes have already been surpassed, as 2,000 copies have been sold, a great number of which were orders from England and America.

The original French edition of Gustave Doré's illustrated Bible has appeared in London, and the skill displayed by French wood engravers has astonished Englishmen of the same craft. The work forms two huge folio volumes, and the price is £10.

The new reading-room of the Paris Imperial Library, described as being built in the form and on the plan of the British Museum reading-room, is rapidly approaching completion. It will be lighted by nine cupolas, decorated with landscapes, bas-reliefs, caryatides, etc.; and there will be tables for about 1,100 readers.

"Der Cogitant" is the name of a new monthly magazine published in October at Berlin. It is edited by one Dr. Edward Löwenthal, the founder of a new religion without a creed, of a new culitus without worship, and of a new system of nature which declares gravitation and attraction to be mere idle school fancies, that light and warmth do not proceed from the sun, and other like novelties, and is intended to be the organ of the new philosophy. Its full title is: "Der Cogitant, Flugblätter für Freunde Naturalistischer Weltanschauung."

Lamartine has made some anachronisms in his "Life of Byron." He refers to Petrarch, who lived in the fourteenth century, as weeping over the grave of Tasso, who lived in the sixteenth.

THE FATE OF THE NEGROES IN LOUISIANA.—A conservative correspondent of a conservative paper, the *Cincinnati Commercial*, has the following on

PISTOL PRACTICE.

I have been permitted to make the following extract from a letter

THE THIRTY-SECOND

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

THE Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary beg leave to notify their friends—the friends of the negro and of impartial liberty—that the 32d Anniversary will be held in Music Hall, on Wednesday, January 24, 1866. The aim of this effort is to give the American Anti-Slavery Society the means to continue its operations, and especially to sustain the publication of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Cherishing, as the Managers do, an assured hope that the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery throughout the Union will soon be ratified, they still consider the great question of the condition and rights of the negro race as in fearful peril. Whether that anti-slavery provision shall be practically a dead letter, or really work its intended effect, is to be decided this winter. Whether slavery shall continue to exist in everything but the name, is to be decided this winter. Overborne by a powerful, educated, and wealthy race—one inflamed by old prejudice and recent defeat, and armed with exclusive political privileges—the negro, even if technically free, is still a slave, while destitute of civil and political rights. Even now, the rebel States propose a labor code, where differences between master and servant are to be settled, not, as in all free countries, by courts and judges, but by *the lash*, in the hands of *irresponsible masters*. This stamps the system as substantial slavery. The plan of reconstruction urged by the Administration leaves the black still a slave. Though some count on such resistance to it by Congress as will ensure its modification, it is still unfortunately true that, with four or five illustrious exceptions, the leaders of the Republican party and its most influential journals avow their willingness to admit the rebels back without securing land or ballot to the negro. No matter what rights are seemingly secured to him, if these, the defence and guaranty of all, are denied. With land and ballot in the negro's hands, no matter what or how liberal terms are conceded to the rebels. Without these elements of self-defence, all pretence of protection or security for the black is an absurd sham.

The Managers feel it to be still their duty to watch for the real emancipation of this victim race. While so many lips are sealed by party temptations, and so many journals silent or neutral from one cause or another, it becomes the Abolitionists—it is a solemn duty imposed upon them by all the pledges of their past lives, to rally public opinion, and secure the constant proclamation as widely as possible, of the whole truth, without fear, compromise or favor. They therefore earnestly appeal to their friends, to all the old and tried members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as well as to those whose eyes the war has opened, for the means to perform, as efficiently as possible, this momentous duty.

Those not able to be personally present to aid on this occasion, and to listen to the appeals of the zealous and tried laborers in this cause, may send their contributions, as heretofore, to W. I. BOWDITCH, Esq., No. 3 R. R. Exchange, Court Square.

LUCRETIA MOTT, Pennsylvania.
LIDIAN EMERSON, Concord, Mass.
MARY M. BROOKS, " "
SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, Boston, Mass.
LYDIA D. PARKER, " "
CHARLOTTE L. FORTEN, " "
ELIZA APTHORP, Cambridge, "
MARY E. STEARNS, Medford, "
SARAH BLAKE SHAW, New York.
ELIZABETH GAY, "
MATTIE GRIFFITH, "
SALLIE HOLLEY, "
EMILY HOWLAND. "
ANNA SHAW GREEN, Boston, Mass.
ANN G. PHILLIPS, " "
ELIZABETH VON ARNIM, " "
CAROLINE C. THAYER, " "
MARY E. SARGENT, " "
ABBY KELLY FOSTER, Worcester, Mass.
MARTHA LE BARON GODDARD, Worcester, Mass.
ANNA D. HALLOWELL, Boston, "
ABBY H. STEPHENSON, " "
CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE, " "
SARAH OCWINO, Weymouth, "
HANNAH B. SPOONER, Plymouth, "
CAROLINE R. PUTNAM, Salem, "
SARAH BRADFORD, Roxbury, "
REBECCA BRADFORD, " "
SARAH P. REMOND, England.
SARAH J. NOWELL, Cambridgeport, Mass.
SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, Grantville, "
RUTH BUFFUM, Lynn, "
EVELINA E. SLACK, Boston, "
ELIZABETH B. CHASE, Rhode Island.
ANNA TALBOT FAIRBANKS, "

MR. SEWARD'S RATIFICATION.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—"Glory to God in the highest!" seem the only fitting words with which to hail the glad tidings announced in the papers this morning; the official declaration, by the Secretary of State, that slavery is constitutionally and legally abolished in the United States. Though we have watched and counted, during many months past, the successive steps which led to this result, and clearly saw that it was at hand, the spoken word declaring, "It is done," could not but thrill the soul of every Abolitionist, as with electric fire.

A few years ago, throughout our Southern land, from millions of broken hearts went up the cry, "We die daily!" Scattered through the North were a few men and women who, remembering those in bonds, as bound with them, had striven and toiled for thirty years to give the life of freedom to those dying ones; and who, in the vast work to which they had set themselves, found arrayed against them almost the entire Nation with its wealth, its intellect, its religion, and its political power. Each of us often asked himself, "Who am I, to contend against such hosts?" Yet the greatness of our cause sustained us; and the greatness of the opposition which confronted us awakened all our vigor. Striving against such odds, toiling through so many weary years, are we not all gratified to join to-day with our "four millions" in their thanksgiving song to Him who hath delivered us from so great a death?" A deliverance, not theirs alone, but the Nation's, which, unconscious of disease or decay, was fast sinking to spiritual death.

I well remember the enthusiasm and buoyant hope of the early day of our enterprise, when most of us expected to live to see its consummation; and when the Poet of our cause, who sang by its cradle, and now waits to chant its last anthem of victory, predicted the overthrow of slavery within ten years. Equally well do I remember how that expectation faded; and we looked beyond the term of our earthly lives for the jubilee, and said, "They to whom we shall bequeath the battle will see the triumph." Our youngest co-worker shared in the revival of our early hopes when the storm of war burst on our land, and upheaved the cornerstone of the system of American slavery. From that hour we have counted the days until this; and of that band who, thirty-five years ago, pledged themselves to each other, to the slave, and to God, there is not one remaining whose heart is not filled with joy and thanksgiving. Verily, God hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad!

It is true that the transition state of our freed people is one of peril and suffering; that in the loud AMEN which went up to the heavens in response to the National decree, one class of the people did not join; and that this class will strive with all its power to keep the promise of freedom to the ear and break to the hope. To resist those efforts, to guard with unsleeping vigilance the liberty newly bestowed by the Constitution; to secure it as only it can be secured under our Government, by placing the ballot of a freeman in the hand from which the fetter has been stricken, is the duty and the work before us. This complete victory will assuredly be ours if we falter not. Our rich experience in the past forbids us to doubt the future.

Philadelphia, Dec. 19th, 1865. MARY GREW.

—We print the foregoing as we do many other letters from the opinions of which we dissent. What we think of Mr. Seward's sham ratification, we said last week, and have seen no reason to change it. We are glad to note that even many Republican journals and speakers take the same view. But Miss Mary Grew is always welcome in these columns, whether we agree or disagree in opinion.

"THIS IS THE NEGRO'S HOUR."

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—By an amendment of the Constitution, ratified by three-fourths of the loyal States, the black man is declared free. The largest and most influential political party is demanding Suffrage for him throughout the Union, which right in many of the States is already conceded. Although this may remain a question for politicians to wrangle over for five or ten years, the black man is still, in a political point of view, far above the educated women of the country.

The representative women of the nation have done their uttermost for the last thirty years to secure freedom for the negro, and so long as he was lowest in the scale of being we were willing to press *his* claims; but now, as the celestial gate to civil rights is slowly moving on its hinges, it becomes a serious question whether we had better stand aside and see "Sambo" walk into the kingdom first.

As self-preservation is the first law of nature, would it not be wiser to keep our lamps trimmed and burning, and when the Constitutional door is open, avail ourselves of the strong arm and blue uniform of the black soldier to walk in by his side, and thus make the gap so wide that no privileged class could ever again close it against the humblest citizen of the Republic?

"This is the negro's hour." Are we sure that he, once entrenched in all his inalienable rights, may not be an added power to hold us at bay? Have not "black male citizens" been heard to say they doubted the wisdom of extending the right of Suffrage to women? Why should the African prove more just and generous than his Saxon compeers?

If the two millions of Southern black women are not to be secured in their rights of person, property, wages, and children, their emancipation is but another form of slavery. In fact, it is better to be the slave of an educated white man, than of a degraded, ignorant black one. We who know what absolute power the statute laws of most of the States give man, in all his civil, political, and social relations, do demand that in changing the status of the four millions of Africans, the women as well as the men should be secured in all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens.

It is all very well for the privileged order to look down complacently and tell us, "This is the negro's hour; do not clog his way; do not embarrass the Republican party with any new issue; be generous and magnanimous; the negro once safe, the woman comes next." Now, if our prayer involved a new set of measures, or a new train of thought, it would be cruel to tax "white male citizens" with even two simple questions at a time; but the disfranchised all make the same demand, and the same logic and justice that secures Suffrage to one class gives it to all.

The struggle of the last thirty years has not been merely on the black man as such, but on the broader ground of his humanity. Our Fathers, at the end of the first revolution, in their desire for a speedy readjustment of all their difficulties, and in order to present to Great Britain, their common enemy, an united front, accepted the compromise urged on them by South Carolina, and a century of wrong, ending in another revolution, has been the result of their action.

This is our opportunity to retrieve the errors of the past and mould anew the elements of Democracy. The nation is ready for a long step in the right direction; party lines are obliterated, and all men are thinking for themselves. If our rulers have the justice to give the black man Suffrage, woman should avail herself of that new-born virtue to secure her rights; if not, she should begin with renewed earnestness to educate the people into the idea of universal suffrage.

E. CADY STANTON.

New York, Dec. 26, 1865.

JUSTICE, OR POLICY?

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—For one outrage on life or limb which formerly took place in the Southern States, we now hear of a dozen; but these are not directed against the same class. Formerly it was any Northerner who was suspected of disbelieving in the perfectness of slavery. Now it is the freedman who is the victim. Why are these outrages so frequent?

When Mr. Lincoln became President, he determined to stop the slave trade. The first person against whom direct evidence was obtained was Gordon, and he was convicted. Immense influence was brought to bear to save his life, a fortune was spent, his wife's tears and supplications, and all the influence which his friends could bring, were exerted. Mr. Lincoln stood firm, Gordon was executed, and the slave trade ceased as if by magic.

If the first planters who committed outrages on the freedmen had been summarily punished, with sentences no severer than could have been inflicted had the positions been reversed—had the first murderer of freedmen been tried and at once hanged, we should now have comparative order and good behaviour throughout the South. But the same spirit of conciliation which now reigns paramount in Washington, pervaded the army and the civil officials, and it seems to have been thought that time would be required for the South to learn better, and that their first ebullitions of spite against their former chattels must be leniently dealt with. A little justice was what we wanted. But the fatal spirit of policy was allowed to step in, and we see the consequences.

The worst of it is that we cannot see a remedy. Our autocratic President is turning over the States we have just conquered, as fast as he can, to our enemies, and leaving the loyal population, white and black, to the tender mercies of those whose spirit and action were shown in their behavior at Andersonville and at Libby. The extent of this crime that we, as a nation, are now perpetrating, it is difficult to estimate. It seems inconceivable that we should, in the hour of victory, have placed, in a moment of madness, at the head of affairs, a man whose every sympathy is with that part of the population of the conquered territory which least needs it, and who shows his temper by urging Congress to receive as members ex-rebel colonels and other traitors, whose hands are yet scarcely dry from the loyal blood which they have been shedding for four years. The mere sending of such men is a studied insult—an insult that, but for Mr. Johnson, the South would never have dared to offer. For when their military resistance was first crushed, they were ready to accept any terms. All their notions of success had looked to rapine and plunder. Northern cities were to be ransomed, or burned and plundered—perhaps all three—and the population of the North was to be dealt with on the principle of *væ victis*—woe to the conquered! As they intended to deal, so they expected to be dealt with, and anything short of this would have been joyfully accepted.

But when word went forth that Mr. Johnson showed signs of treason to his party, the astonishment and joy in the South were like intoxication. It really did amount to that, so that all disguise was for a time thrown off, and the spirit of defiance to us, of cold cruelty to the freedmen, were made apparent. We know now, thanks to Mr. Johnson's strange policy, what the South is, and we shall this winter know whether or not our government is practically a despotism, as some of Mr. Johnson's organs teach, and whether Congress is really a vital part of our Government, or a mere machine to register the edicts of a Presidential Cæsar.

HOW THE PRESIDENT WORKS.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—I scarcely think that the Northern people are fully aware of the manner in which Mr. Johnson is engaged in controlling their opinions, through the agency of the Republican press, so called. And although there are very many who could set this forth far better than I can, still, so little is said about it, that I cannot refrain from briefly adverting to it.

I can point out a very influential journal, in which there is, apparently, no one receiving any favor from Government. Nevertheless, there is a gentleman, whose name never appears in connection with that journal, who has for years held a very profitable position in the gift of the National Government. In Mr. Lincoln's time this journal was outspoken in favor of justice to the colored people, but since Mr. Johnson's policy of hostility to that race has been developed, not only have the editorials advocating fair play to the negro ceased, but everything friendly to him is carefully weeded from its columns. One would imagine that one was reading a different journal. Cautious defences of Mr. Johnson's policy, rather implied than openly expressed, and reflections on the "extremists" in Congress (by which expression the Radical Republicans are pleasantly classed with the Copperheads) have taken the place of the straightforward tone which previously characterized this journal. The delicate management of a few lucrative positions is thus enabling the President to manipulate public opinion and poison it at its fountain heads. Mr. Lincoln was too single-minded for this sort of work, even had he desired to control public opinion, which he did not.

And now we stand in the anomalous position that the prevailing tone of opinion throughout the Northern States, finds no adequate expression in print. That it is annoyed, checked, and stifled in this way no one can doubt, and such is most certainly the President's object. *How many journals are there in the United States, whose tone corresponds with that of the majority in Congress?* Scarcely one. And yet the tone of that majority is unquestionably the tone of the North and represents what would have been the tone of the whole Government, had we had a true Northern man, as we ought to have had, for President. The condition of the freedmen is frightful. A gentleman just from the South, and whose official position gave him every opportunity to judge, recently stated in the presence of the writer of these lines that it was next to certain that 250,000 of this class would perish this winter. What remedy and palliation has Mr. Johnson for this? None! His sympathies are with the disloyal whites, not with the loyal blacks. For the latter he has only warning against dissipation, (think of such words from him who figured before the people on the 4th of March as did Mr. Johnson!) For the disloyal whites he has personal interviews, assurances of sympathy, more genuine perhaps for an unrepentant rebel than for a Northern Radical.

Finally, let us remark that this bullying tone of many of the Republican journals towards Congress, led off by the N. Y. *Times*, is offensive in a high degree. At the opening of the session, the *Times* openly signified to the members, that Mr. Johnson's policy, right or wrong, could not now be changed, it was too late. Intimating in a general way, that the business of Congress was to register the edicts of our "Presidential Cæsar" not to have an opinion of its own. All this rather overshot the mark, and reacted on the arrogant manufacturers of public opinion who at that time felt so strong under Mr. Johnson's protection that they drew aside the mask too far.

Let us remember that Mr. Buchanan forced through the Kansas Nebraska bill against a clear majority of 13, and that if Mr. Johnson has a stronger opposition to face, he has also immense advantages in his position as respects the press. It is only by incessant vigilance, by exposing his course, and stigmatizing his artifices, that we can hope to keep public opinion straight against those tremendous odds, and maintain our ascendancy in Congress.

JUSTICE.

A PETITION FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

THE National Woman's Rights Committee have prepared for general circulation the following petition:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The undersigned, Women of the United States, respectfully ask an amendment of the Constitution that shall prohibit the several States from disfranchising any of their citizens on the ground of sex.

In making our demand for Suffrage, we would call your attention to the fact that we represent fifteen million people—one half the entire population of the country—intelligent, virtuous, native-born American citizens; and yet we are the only class who stand outside the pale of political recognition.

The Constitution classes us as "free people," and counts us *whole* persons in the basis of representation; and yet are we governed without our consent, compelled to pay taxes without appeal, and punished for violations of law without choice of judge or juror.

The experience of all ages, the Declarations of the Fathers, the Statute Laws of our own day, and the fearful revolution through which we have just passed, all prove the uncertain tenure of life, liberty, and property so long as the ballot—the only weapon of self-protection—is not in the hand of every citizen.

Therefore, as you are now amending the Constitution, and, in harmony with advancing civilization, placing new safeguards round the individual rights of four millions of emancipated slaves, we ask that you extend the right of Suffrage to Woman—the only remaining class of disfranchised citizens—and thus fulfil your Constitutional obligation "to Guarantee to every State in the Union a Republican form of Government."

As all partial application of Republican principles must ever breed a complicated legislation as well as a discontented people, we would pray your Honorable Body, in order to simplify the machinery of government and ensure domestic tranquillity, that you legislate hereafter for persons, citizens, tax-payers, and not for class or caste.

For justice and equality your petitioners will ever pray.

The petition is accompanied by the following circular. As a matter of convenience to the Committee, answers may be addressed to them at this office.

December 26, 1865.

DEAR FRIEND: As the question of Suffrage is now agitating the public mind, it is the hour for woman to make her demand.

Propositions have already been made on the floor of Congress to so amend the Constitution as to exclude Women from a voice in the Government.* As this would be to turn the wheels of legislation backward, let the Women of the Nation now unitedly protest against such a desecration of the Constitution, and petition for that right which is at the foundation of all Government—the right of representation.

Send your petition when signed to your representative in Congress.

In behalf of the National W. R. Com.
E. CADY STANTON,
S. B. ANTHONY,
LUCY STONE.

* See Bill of Mr. Jenckes, of Rhode Island.

PEACE CONFERENCE.

[Reported for the Standard.]

A CONFERENCE of the friends of Peace was held in Boston on the 12th inst., at 10 o'clock a.m. A good number were present, among whom were noticed many distinguished reformers. The meeting was called to order by Edward Draper, Esq., and after reading the call of the Conference, J. F. Blanchard, Esq., was chosen Chairman, and Lysander S. Richards, Secretary. After presiding over the meeting a short time, the Chairman, on account of illness, resigned in favor of Hon. Amasa Walker, who performed the duties of the office the remainder of the session. A letter was read from Judge A. W. G. Carter, of Cincinnati, regretting his inability to be present. He favored the organization of a National Society and a Congress of Nations to establish permanent Peace. Now is the time to educate mankind. "We are all striving for heaven; who thinks of force, violence, and war in heaven? Why the necessity of force, violence, and war upon earth? Shall we reach heaven or the consociation of angels by the adoption and practice of that which is not known there or among them? No! that is not the way to reach a superior plane of existence." "Liberty and Peace" was his motto.

R. J. Butts, of Hopedale, spoke against the practicability of sudden conversions to Peace, and in favor of battling the violated conditions of war, and the prosecution of a moral, non-resistant war in behalf of Peace.

Hon. Amasa Walker spoke of the American Peace Society. He had been interested in the cause of Peace for 33 years. He believed it necessary that the country should be baptized in blood to learn the evils of war. The time has now arrived when further wars should cease and the armaments of war be at once reduced.

Henry C. Wright spoke on first principles, and struck at the root of the whole subject. He advocated that human rights cannot be protected by force. Believes in self-abnegation more than self-preservation. He hopes that a society will be formed to seek the abolition of war, and does not believe in taking the life of any human being. He moved a committee be appointed to call a national convention.

L. K. Joslyn, of Providence, denounced in strong terms the inaction of the American Peace Society, and favored the organization of a new society to be called the American Peace Society of Boston. He also believed in the wide dissemination of Peace tracts.

Mr. Stewart urged the necessity of educating the people to the entire use of moral power.

J. P. Blanchard addressed the meeting, and hoped that all past differences among the friends of Peace would be forgotten, and all now unite in one grand effort to advance the best interests of Peace. He is for resisting the spirit of all wars, civil and foreign.

Rev. J. G. Fish, of New Jersey, did not believe in sacrificing a life to any individual interest. He has no confidence in a Congress of Nations; believes more in a court.

Rev. Adin Ballou called on the Chairman, Mr. Walker, to state the moral and financial condition of the American Peace Society. Mr. Walker replied, stating that the Society had not been disposed to aid the war. He as an individual was as much opposed to war as ever. He believed war a necessity, because there is no preparation on the part of the people to prevent it. The people must obviate the necessity of war. Believes in a Congress of nations, and a Court. Does not care whether one styles war christian or unchristian. Wants friends of all beliefs to unite in furthering the cause of Peace.

Ezra H. Heywood argued the necessity of attacking war in our own land, here among our people, or anywhere we find it. Believed in the dissemination of Peace tracts and papers. The time has arrived for action, for the people are desirous of a permanent peace.

Henry C. Wright's motion for the appointment of a Committee to call a National Peace Convention for the purpose of organizing a National Society or inaugurating some movement to better advance the true interests of Peace prevailed, and the following Committee were chosen:

Rev. Adin Ballou, of Hopedale, Mass.; Lysander S. Richards, of Quincy, Mass.; Ezra H. Heywood, Princeton, Mass.; Rev. Dr. Beckwith, J. P. Blanchard, Boston; Alfred H. Love, Philadelphia; Edward Draper, Hopedale; Rev. J. G. Fish, New Jersey; Wm. S. Heywood, West Newton; Henry H. Brigham, So. Abington; Lucretia Mott, Philadelphia; H. C. Wright, Boston; Dr. A. B. Child, Boston; Thos. Hunt, Salem; Judge A. W. G. Carter, Cincinnati; Mrs. Mary Davis, Hopedale; Mrs. Elizabeth B. C. Chase, Bellows Falls, Vt.; Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Boston.

Mr. R. Wymen, of Roxbury, addressed the meeting briefly. Thought that man assumed too much in snatching the power from God to take the life of any of his children.

A. H. Love, of Philadelphia, argued the propriety of forming a World's Peace Society and auxiliary societies. At the close of Mr. Love's brief and excellent address the Conference dissolved. The committee's call for a National Convention will publicly appear in due course of time.

GENERAL SCHURZ'S REPORT.

MAJ.-GEN. CARL SCHURZ'S report to the President of the condition of affairs in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, occupies nearly three closely printed pages of the New York *Tribune*. The following extracts present some of its more notable portions. Gen. Schurz thus describes his instructions from President Johnson:

"You informed me that your 'policy of reconstruction' was merely experimental, and that you would change it if the experiment did not lead to satisfactory results. To aid you in forming your conclusions upon this point I understood to be the object of my mission, and this understanding was in perfect accordance with the written instructions I received through the Secretary of War."

The discussion of the negro question of course occupies a large portion of the report.

If negroes walked away from the plantations it was conclusive proof of the incorrigible instability of the negro and the impracticability of free negro labor. If some individual negroes violated the terms of their contract, it proved unanswerably that no negro had or ever would have a just conception of the binding force of a contract, and that this system of free negro labor was bound to be a failure. If some negroes shirked or did not perform their task with sufficient alacrity, it was produced as irrefutable evidence to show that physical compulsion was actually indispensable to make the negro work. If negroes, idlers, or refugees crowding about the towns applied to the authorities for subsistence, it was quoted as incontestably establishing the point that the negro was too improvident to take care of himself, and must necessarily be consigned to the care of a master. I heard a Georgia planter argue most seriously that one of his negroes had shown himself certainly unfit for freedom, because he impudently refused to submit to a whipping. I frequently went into an argument with those putting forth such general assertions, quoting instances in which negro laborers were working faithfully and to the entire satisfaction of their employers; the employers themselves had informed me. In a majority of cases the reply was, that we Northern people did not understand the negro, but that they, the Southerners, did; that, as to the particular instances I quoted, I was probably mistaken; that I had not closely investigated the cases, or had been deceived by my informants; that they knew the negro would not work without compulsion, and that nobody could make them believe he would. Arguments like these naturally finished such discussions. It frequently struck me that persons who conversed about every other subject calmly and sensibly, would lose their temper as soon as the negro question was touched.

Cases in which negroes were kept on the plantations either by ruse or violence were frequent enough in South Carolina and Georgia to call forth from Gen. Saxton a circular, threatening planters who persisted in this practice with loss of their property, and from Maj.-Gen. Steedman, commander of the department of Georgia, an order bearing upon the same subject. At Atlanta, Georgia, I had an opportunity to examine some cases of the nature above described myself. While I was there—9th and 10th of August—several negroes came into town with bullet and buck-shot wounds in their bodies; from their statements, which, however, were only corroborating information previously received, it appeared that the reckless and restless characters of that region had combined to keep the negroes "where they belonged"; several freedmen were shot in the attempt to escape, others succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their persecutors, and large numbers, terrified by what they saw and heard, quietly remained under the restraint imposed upon them, waiting for better opportunities. The commander of the sub-district and post informed me that squads of guerillas were prowling about within a few miles of the city, making it dangerous for soldiers and freedmen to show themselves outside of the immediate reach of the garrison, and that but a few days previous to my arrival a small squad of men he had sent out to serve an order upon a planter concerning the treatment of freedmen, had been driven back by an armed band of over twenty men, headed by an individual in the uniform of a rebel officer.

In Mississippi I received information of a similar character.

The number of murders and assaults perpetrated upon negroes is very great; we can form only an approximate estimate of what is going on in those parts of the South which are not closely garrisoned and from which no regular reports are received, by what occurs under the very eyes of our military authorities. As to my personal experience, I will only mention that during my two days' sojourn at Atlanta one negro was stabbed with fatal effect on the street, and three were poisoned, one of whom died. While I was at Montgomery, one negro was cut across the throat, evidently with intent to kill, and another was shot, but both escaped with their lives. Several papers attached to this report give an account of the number of capital cases that occurred at certain places during a certain period of time. It is a sad fact that the perpetration of those acts is not confined to that class of people that might be called the rabble. Several "gentlemen of standing" have been tried before military commissions for such offences.

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So far, the spirit of persecution has shown itself so strong as to make the protection of the freedmen by the military arm of the government in many localities necessary, in almost all desirable. It must not be forgotten that in a community, a majority of whose members is peaceably disposed but not willing or able to enforce peace and order, a comparatively small number of bold and lawless men can determine the character of the whole. The rebellion itself, in some of the Southern States, furnished a striking illustration of this truth.

* * * * * * * * *

I may sum up all I have said in a few words.

If nothing were necessary but to restore the machinery of government in the States lately in rebellion in point of form, the movement made to that end by the people of the South might be considered satisfactory.

But if it is required that the Southern people should also accomodate themselves to the results of the war in point of spirit, these movements fall far short of what must be insisted upon.

The loyalty of the masses and most of the leaders of the Southern people consists in submission to necessity. There is, except in individual instances, an entire absence of that national spirit which forms the basis of true loyalty and patriotism.

The emancipation of the slaves is submitted to only in so far as chattel slavery in the old form could not be kept up. But, although the freedman is no longer considered the property of the individual master, he is considered the slave of society, and all independent State legislation will show the tendency to make him such. The ordinances abolishing slavery, passed by the conventions under the pressure of circumstances, will not be looked upon as barring the establishment of a new form of servitude.

Practical attempts on the part of the Southern people to deprive the negro of his rights as a freedman may result in bloody collisions, and will certainly plunge Southern society into restless fluctuations and anarchical confusion.

Such evils can be prevented only by continuing the control of the National Government in the States lately in rebellion until free labor is fully developed and firmly established, and the advantages and blessings of the new order of things have disclosed themselves. This desirable result will be hastened by a firm declaration on the part of the Government that national control in the South will not cease until such results are secured. Only in this way can that security be established in the South which will render numerous immigration possible, and such immigration would materially aid a favorable development of things. The solution of the problem will be very much facilitated by enabling all the loyal and free labor elements of the South to exercise a healthy influence upon legislation; it will hardly be possible to secure the freedmen against oppressive class legislation and private persecution unless he be endowed with a certain measure of political power.

As to the future peace and harmony of the Union, it is of the highest importance that the people of the States lately in rebellion be not permitted to build up another "peculiar institution," whose spirit is in conflict with the fundamental principles of our political system; for as long as they cherish interests peculiar to them in preference to those they have in common with the rest of the American people, their loyalty to the Union will always be sustained.

I desire not to be understood as saying that there are no well-meaning men among those who were compromised in the rebellion. There are many, but neither their number nor their influence is strong enough to control the manifest tendency of the popular spirit.

There are good reasons for hope that a determined policy on the part of the national government will produce innumerable and valuable conversions. This consideration counsels lenity as to persons, such as is demanded by the humane and enlightened spirit of our times, and vigor and firmness in carrying out of principles, such as is demanded by the national sense of justice and the exigencies of our situation.

In submitting this report I desire to say that I have conscientiously endeavored to see things as they were, and to represent them as I saw them. I have been careful not to use language stronger than was warranted by the thoughts I intended to express. A comparison of the tenor of the annexed documents with that of my report will convince you that I have studiously avoided over-statements. Certain legislative attempts at present made in the South, and especially in South Carolina, seem to be more than justifying the apprehensions I have expressed.

Conscious though I am of having used my best endeavors to draw from what I saw and learned correct general conclusions, yet I am far from placing too great a trust in my own judgment, when interests of such magnitude are at stake. I know that this report is incomplete, although as complete as an observation of a few months would enable me to do it. Additional facts might be elicited, calculated to throw new light upon the subject. Although I see no reason for believing that things have changed for the better since I left the South, yet such may be the case. Admitting all these possibilities, still I would entreat you to take no irretraceable step toward relieving the States lately in rebellion from all national control, until such favorable changes are clearly and unmistakably ascertained.

To that end, and by virtue of the permission you honoured me with when sending me out, to communicate to you my views as to measures of policy proper to be adopted, I would now respectfully suggest that you advise Congress to send one or more "investigating committees" into the Southern States, to inquire for themselves into the actual condition of things before final action is taken upon the readmission of such States to their representation in the legislative branch of the government and the withdrawal of all national control from that section of the country.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
CARL SCHURZ.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY PARTY.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—Whenever a political party couples its search for *personal profit or aggrandisement* with its views of policy, it is thereby both strengthened and weakened—strengthened, because it draws to it (if it have any prospect of success) a vast number of political adventurers—weakened, because circumstances infallibly arise to which interest pulls in one direction, principle in another.

It is therefore of the highest possible importance that there should exist a party, compact, intelligent, and resolute; that seeks no personal success, but is simply resolved to stand by its colors; that will neither flinch nor bargain; that controls a large vote, and that cannot itself be controlled; that prefers failure with adhesion to its principles, to success without them. Such a party inevitably forces round in the end that political organization which is nearest them, to adopt their principles, in order by union with them to obtain power and place. When the next Presidential election comes, the Republican party will see distinctly the dilemma before them: the adoption of a Radical Anti-Slavery candidate and platform, or utter failure. It is idle to say that with the legal destruction of Slavery, the parties based on it are likewise destroyed. Is Slavery destroyed practically? Let any one look around.

North Carolina was supposed to be the least disaffected State of all that seceded. A few days ago, two freedmen, convicted of larceny were judicially sold into servitude! Can any one hear of freedmen hunted with dogs in order to be restored to their "owners," and say that slavery has passed away? or peruse the Black Codes which the States are emulating each other in passing, and say that slavery is of the past? Such language indicates mere wilful blindness, and is an imposition on the good sense of the community.

If the Republican party, guided by the shallow cunning of men like Raymond, is so unspeakably silly as to harness itself to the car of our accidental President, there will be abundant work left for an *Anti-Slavery Party*.

Very truly, yours, A. B.

Philadelphia, Dec. 23, 1865.

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

GEN. HOWARD has transmitted to the President a very long report of the operations of his Bureau, from which we have space to extract only the following suggestions as to its future policy.

1. That free labor, notwithstanding the sudden emancipation, and the thousands of the causes of disturbance incident to the war, will prove successful; but in order to hasten this result, every effort must be made by officers of the Government, and all others concerned, to secure confidence between the holders of property and the freedmen, to restore that confidence wherever it has been impaired. On the part of the freedmen, they are looking for justice and privileges with perhaps too exalted notions; yet their confidence cannot be obtained without a reasonable extension to them of the rights and privileges of freemen. On the part of the property holders, great complaint is made of want of security of labor, the majority seeking some compulsory process; that is, some substitute for slavery. There are so many examples of complete success of free labor that I bring them as an answer to such complaints, and I believe that the causes of complaint are due as much to the prejudice of the employer, and want of practical knowledge of any other system than the one under which he has been brought up, as to the ignorance and suspicion of the laborer.

I therefore earnestly advocate equality before the law, trusting to time and education to overcome prejudice and ignorance.

II. That this Bureau, or some substitute for it, of a national character, will have to be continued for the following reasons:

1. It will require at least a year from January, 1866, to bring to a close the land division, whatever disposition is made of the lands. The faith of the Government having been pledged as to the leases and contracts for the coming year, it would be unwise to commit them to any State agencies.

2. The Government has set the slaves free and bound itself to make that freedom an undisputed fact. Some guaranty, beyond any existing ordinance in any State I visited, is essential to secure the actual and continuous protection of life and property to the freedmen. Where legislation is constrained, as it now is in the Southern States, for the most part, from several causes, there is danger of the statute law being in advance of public sentiment, so that where there is the most liberality, ill consequences would be likely to result, if Government protection should be immediately withdrawn.

Where the bureau fails to afford this protection, it is yet a means of exposing to the Government and to the public acts of injustice and oppression, and in this way it affords a moral check against their commission.

3. A want of mutual confidence between the white employers and the colored employés actually exists to a large extent. This can usually be traced to circumstances connected with the war, and it is increased by the peculiar prejudices and education of all persons connected with the slavery system.

The Bureau officers actually do restore this confidence, as a general rule, when fairly met.

With scarcely any exceptions, the freedmen expressed the utmost confidence in its agents, and are only alienated where agents prove themselves untrue to their interests.

Wherever the planters have taken advantage of the aid afforded by the Bureau, the best results have followed. This work will require time for its completion.

4. Education is absolutely essential to the freedmen to fit them for their new duties and responsibilities. I find many enlightened and learned men in every State advocating the necessity and wisdom of establishing a system of education; yet I believe the majority of the white people to be utterly opposed to educating the negroes. The opposition is so great that the teachers, though they may be the purest of Christian people, are nevertheless visited publicly and privately with undisguised marks of odium. This bureau fearlessly superintends and fosters these schools, which, it is believed, will in time, by their success and good influence, bring over all fair men, at least, to their support.

5. Every colored man I met, of any considerable intelligence, plead earnestly for the continuance of the bureau, as his only hope of justice and privilege correspondent to the necessities of his new position. Therefore I should fear an almost universal disturbance among the freedmen as a consequence of its removal, till society had become more settled and State action more liberal than at present.

GOV. JENKINS ON THE GEORGIA FREEDMEN.—In his recent message to the Georgia Legislature, Gov. Jenkins speaks as follows of the freedmen, in the usual bitter-sweet style of Southern functionaries:

"As to the governing class, individually and collectively, we owe them unbounded kindness, thorough protection, incentives, by moral suasion, by appeals to their interest, and by just legal restraint, to do right, that they may do well. Their rights of person and property should be made perfectly secure, so secure that they may realize their freedom and its benefits, and of it they should be encouraged and stimulated to make benefit. To this end the Courts must be opened to them, and they must be allowed in the assertion and defence therein of their rights, in civil and criminal cases, the testimony of their own race. As essential to their well-being, they should be guarded on the one hand against the crafty machinations of the designing, and on the other against the fatal delusion of social and political equality.

"If there are any pseudo philanthropists who are inclined to infuse into their minds this unfriendly delusion, or to preach to us the duty of entering upon this levelling process, let them open their mission by pointing to examples. Assuredly, there is not one to be found beneath the broad expense of our Constitution.

"The necessity of subordination and dependence should be riveted on their convictions. Such degree of legal restraint as may be requisite to this end, is enforced upon us by sudden change of relation, originated neither by them nor by us; and, happily for all parties, it need not conflict with the unvarying observance of the law of kindness, which felicitates intercourse between equals, and causes the inferior to recognize in his superior a benefactor. No less able than formerly to fill their accustomed departments of labor, they should be made to realize that this is not only compatible with, but an indispensable condition of, their altered status. If won to the practice of honesty, sobriety and industry, they will be, for us, the best laboring class, and we, to them, the best employers the world can furnish, because of the thorough aquaintance between the classes.

"I speak with reference to the present, and the near future. Were it now divulged that, in the changes to be evolved by time, they are destined to attain such advancement that, in their daily intercourse, they shall look in the face no superior, all philosophy, other than Utopian—certainly all American philosophy, as illustrated by practice—would anticipate for them an antecedent translation to other climes."

THE Paris correspondent of the *Herald* writes:

We have just had a little "woman's rights" affair, which has created a good deal of excitement in literary and scientific circles. It seems that a young lady named Reugger, a native of Algeria, having received a diploma as "Bachelor of Letters" after passing a brilliant examination, applied to the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Montpellier for permission to follow the regular medical course. This was refused on account of her sex, and she then appealed to the Minister of Public Instruction, who, without committing himself in any manner from the general principle, proposed, as a compromise, that the applicant should agree to practice only in Algeria, among the female Arabs, who, it seems, more sensitive than the dames of more civilized societies, decidedly object to the manipulations of male physicians. The young lady in question refused to compromise, and throws herself upon her rights. The matter will, it is said, be presented directly to the Emperor for his adjudication; and it is thought that if he would permit Rosa Bonheur to be made a "chevalier" he will not deny Mademoiselle Reugger the liberty to become a physician. Cases of ladies following the courses of lectures at the Sorbonne and the College de France, and obtaining their degrees as "Bachelors" of Arts, Science, and Letters, are by no means uncommon; and some three years since, when living in the Latin quarter, I frequently met at the cliniques at the lectures at the Ecole de Medecine, and at the bedside visits of the surgeons in the hospitals, the young American ladies who had come over here to "walk the hospitals." If the imperial decision is favorable in this case, it will open another avenue to female enterprise, sk

Miscellaneous Department.

CASTLES IN THE AIR.

FROM AN UNPUBLISHED POEM BY W. C. BRYANT.

"But there is yet a region of the clouds
Unseen from the low earth. Beyond the veil
Of these dark volumes rolling through the sky,
Its mountain summits glisten in the sun,—
The realm of Castles in the Air. The foot
Of man hath never trod those shining streets;
But there his spirit, leaving the dull load
Of bodily organs, wanders with delight,
And builds its structures of the impalpable mist,
Glorious beyond the dream of architect,
And populous with forms of nobler mould
Than ever walked the earth." So said my guide,
And led me, wondering, to a headland height
That overlooked a fair broad vale shut in
By the great hills of Clondland. "Now behold
The Castle-builders!" Then I looked; and, lo!
The vale was filled with shadowy forms, that bore
Each a white wand, with which they touched the banks
Of mist beside them, and at once arose,
Obedient to their wish, the walls and domes
Of stately palaces, Gothic or Greek,
Or such as in the land of Mahomet
Uplift the crescent, or, in forms more strange,
Border the ancient Indus, or behold
Their gilded friezes mirrored in the lakes
Of China,—yet of ampler majesty,
And gorgeously adorned. Tall porticos
Sprang from the ground; the eye pursued afar
Their colonnades, that lessened to a point
In the faint distance. Portals that swung back
On musical hinges showed the eye within
Vast halls with golden floors, and bright alcoves,
And walls of pearl, and sapphire vault besprent
With silver stars. Within the spacious rooms
Were banquets spread; and menials, beautiful
As wood-nymphs or as stripling Mercuries,
Ran to and fro, and laid the chalices,
And brought the brimming wine-jars. Enters now
The happy architect, and wanders on
From room to room, and glories in his work.

Not long his glorying: for a chill north wind
Breathes through the structure, and the massive walls
Are folded up; the proud domes roll away
In mist-wreaths: pinnacle and turret lean
Forward, like birds prepared for flight, and stream,
In trains of vapor, through the empty air.
Meantime the astonished builder, dispossessed,
Stands 'mid the drifting rack. A brief despair
Seizes him; but the wand is in his hand,
And soon he turns him to his task again.
"Behold," said the fair being at my side,
"How one has made himself a diadem
Out of the bright skirts of a cloud that lay
Stooped in the golden sunshine, and has bound
The bauble on his forehead! See, again,
How from these vapors he calls up a host
With arms and banners! A great multitude
Gather and bow before him with bare heads.
To the four winds his messengers go forth,
And bring him back earth's homage. From the ground
Another calls a winged image, such
As poets give to Fame, who, to her mouth
Putting a silver trumpet, blows abroad
A loud, harmonious summons to the world,
And all the listening nations shout his name.
Another yet, apart from all the rest,
Casting a fearful glance from side to side,
Touches the ground by stealth. Beneath his wand
A glittering pile grows up, ingots and bars
Of massive gold, and coins on which earth's kings
Have stamped their symbols." As these words were said,
The north wind blew again across the vale,
And, lo! the beamy crown flew off in mist;
The host of armed men became a scud
Torn by the angry blast; the form of Fame
Tossed its long arms in air, and rode the wind,
A jagged cloud; the glittering pile of gold
Grew pale and flowed in a gray reek away.
Then there were sobs and tears from those whose work
The wind had scattered: some had flung themselves
Upon the ground in grief; and some stood fixed
In blank bewilderment; and some looked on
Unmoved, as at a pageant of the stage
Suddenly hidden by the curtain's fall.

"Take thou this wand," my bright companion said.
I took it from her hand, and with it touched
The knolls of snow-white mist, and they grew green
With soft, thick herbage. At another touch,
A brook leaped forth, and dashed and sparkled by;
And shady walks through shrubberies cool and close
Wandered; and where, upon the open grounds,
The peaceful sunshine lay, a vineyard nursed
Its pouting clusters; and from boughs that drooped
Beneath their load an orchard shed its fruit;
And gardens, set with many a pleasant herb
And many a glorious flower, made sweet the air.

I looked, and I exulted; yet I longed
For Nature's grander aspects, and I plied
The slender rod again; and then arose
Woods tall and wide, of odorous pine and fir,
And every noble tree that casts the leaf
In autumn. Paths that wound between their stems
Led through the solemn shade to twilight glens,
To thundering torrents and white waterfalls,
And edge of lonely lakes, and chasms between
The mountain-cliffs. Above the trees were seen
Gray pinnacles and walls of splintered rock.

But near the forest margin, in the vale,
Nestled a dwelling half embowered by trees,
Where, through the open window, shelves were seen
Filled with old volumes, and a glimpse was given
Of canvas, here and there along the walls,
On which the hands of mighty men of art
Had flung their fancies. On the portico
Old friends, with smiling faces and frank eyes,
Talked with each other: some had passed from life
Long since, yet dearly were remembered still.
My heart yearned toward them, and the quick, warm tears
Stood in my eyes. Forward I sprang to grasp
The hands that once so kindly met my own,—
I sprang, but met them not: the withering wind
Was there before me. Dwelling, field, and brook,
Dark wood, and flowering garden, and blue lake,
And beetling cliff, and noble human forms,
All, all had melted into that pale sea
Of billowy vapor rolling round my feet.

—*Atlantic Monthly.*

MRS. GASKELL.

From the Saturday Review.

THE unexpected announcement of the death of Mrs. Gaskell will have been received with genuine regret by many who did not enjoy personally the pleasure of her acquaintance. It is a loss to a wide circle whenever a justly favorite writer dies in the fulness of energy and the maturity of power; and this was the position which Mrs. Gaskell occupied before the public at the time of her decease. She had written herself into a well-deserved popularity, not confined to Great Britain alone; her latter fiction gave no reason to fear that her imagination was wearing threadbare, or her manner growing conventional; and she seemed not likely to lose for many years to come, the power or the inclination to write. Since the appearance of *Mary Barton* some seventeen years ago, few seasons have gone by without leaving some record of Mrs. Gaskell's literary industry, although she never fell under the imputation of publishing too rapidly. The list of her works given in this week's journals is not quite a complete one, but it is correct enough to remind contemporary critics how gradually and honestly the authoress had worked her way into permanent public favor. Without being unique, or in any sense extraordinarily original in her range of subjects or in her method of treatment, sometimes not rising above a level which has been reached by many other English story-tellers for whose books a very moderate tenure of popularity may be predicted, sometimes one-sided in social views, sometimes indiscreet in following her personal impulses too blindly, Mrs. Gaskell has yet achieved a success which will live long after her, and in which all connected with her may well feel an honorable pride.

Fictions composed, as *Mary Barton* and *North and South* were composed, to inculcate a particular doctrine or point a definite moral for the benefit of a purblind or obstinate age, are apt to spoil their case by overstatement; and, even apart from their chances of exaggeration, they necessarily labor under a drawback, as permanent works of art, by their didactic tone. Mrs. Gaskell wisely perceived, before she had written many novels, that the highest end and aim of novel-writing was not to improve the outside world into a juster sense of the rights of the operative or any other special class, but to produce a picture of some phase of human life which should be instrinsically true. She gained the knowledge that the power of the novelist to impress a lesson lies in the perfection of the art with which the lesson, whatever it may be, is kept out of sight; and in ceasing to write for an object, she acquired a more comprehensive and stronger command of the interest and sympathy of the general public. *Mary Barton* will be comparatively forgotten, for all its power and its pathos, when the two novels which mark as it were the opposite poles of Mrs. Gaskell's powers in writing—*Cranford* and *Sylvia's Lovers*—are still eagerly read and widely admired.

Cranford is, in its way, the most perfect of Mrs. Gaskell's creations, and we do not hesitate to say that it is the most perfect little story of its kind that has been published since the days of Miss Austen. It is a picture of the very small and peculiar social circle of an English village, drawn with minute and accurate, but never wearily microscopic, observation. The extreme quietness of the life which it describes is carefully suited with a narrative style of singular purity and simplicity, which increases its charm in reading very considerably, and will materially assist in maintaining its popularity to a later time. Of actual story there is very little; the placid movement of life in such a village as Cranford could scarcely co-exist with anything like a crisis of passionate or active interests in the minds or fortunes of the individual members of its peaceful society. But through the calm and stationary details of the present we see frequent glimpses of distant romance that has been, or that might have been. Threads of personal story, belonging to the past life or the unfulfilled hopes of the gentle, faded old maiden ladies or widows who give the tone to the intercourse in the parlors of Cranford, impart a deeper truth and a livelier pathos to the picture of their present monotonous elderly existence. Faint little chords of youthful sentiment still lie far down among the overgrowth of a Miss Matty's daily cares and nervous proprieties, ready to thrill to the step or the voice of a former lover. The reader is brought, as it were, at once into the fourth volume of a novel, or rather of many novels strung together. The stage of life which forms the usual matter of the ordinary three volumes has passed by for the principal personages of the picture, and is not come for the secondary ones. The moral to which the scene points is not as striking or as awful as that which is written on the front of Yorick's skull, or on the figures of Holbein's *Dance of Death;* but it is one of nearly as general applicability, and which should be almost as impressive. There must be a period in every one's story (if it lasts long enough) at which the hero or heroine of everybody's autobiography drops out of the buzz and summer of active life, and falls into the sere and yellow leaf which is the prevailing tint of *Cranford*. To paint such a period with truth and delicate minuteness for the amusement and instruction of all who care to study the painting, to mark with a clear but tender touch the various shades of growing elderly habits, gradually settling into second nature, or creeping on towards morbid eccentricity, yet co-existing and intertwined with youthful purity and lovable softness of nature—in short, to place the portrait of Miss Matty in the atmosphere of Cranford—was a work well worth doing, and a work which could not have been done with more graceful unobtrusiveness than it has been by Mrs. Gaskell. However many other stories it might have been given her to write, she could hardly have surpassed the perfection of her own art in this instance, and she will not easily be surpassed by others.

The other tale by Mrs. Gaskell, of which we have spoken above as marking the opposite limit of her powers in story-telling to that occupied by *Cranford*, has before now been separately reviewed in our pages. We refer to it mainly as illustrating the considerable width and versatility of the talents which have gone from among us so suddenly. *Sylvia's Lovers* may affect various tastes very differently. Some readers will never lose the feeling that, with all its force and pathos, it is a very unpleasant story: and there are critics who lay down a positive canon that radically unpleasant stories had better be left unwritten. However this may be, it is impossible to read *Sylvia's Lovers* (as it is impossible to read Mr. Tennyson's poem upon the more or less similar subject of *Enoch Arden*) without the greatest admiration for the powers the book displays. It is as full of vivid and changeful passion, of swift and forcible incident, of carefully-woven plot, of human character in the full strength of youth and manhood acted upon by the absorbing motives of ordinary human life, as the special circle of *Cranford* is remote from all these things. Though it treats of nothing higher than Yorkshire tradesmen and farmers' daughters, it is a thoroughly tragic, even if it is not to be called a sensation, novel. And it has one special quality analogous to the genius which adds such charm to George Sand's lifelike and homely portraits of peasant manners and character in the outlying provinces of France. No one who has seen Whitby (the Monkshaven of *Sylvia's Lovers*) can fail to recognize the vivid accuracy of the local coloring, properly subordinated as it always is to the movement and interest of the story. Mrs. Gaskell succeeded in grasping with remarkable truth, and reproducing with forcible picturesqueness, the natural features of a very peculiar and unfamiliar district of English scenery. Little value is to be attached to the purely topographical details of a novel, except so far as their introduction is relevant to the incidents and characters of the tale. A story of the Monkshaven, or any other English seaport of to-day, brought nearer to the towns of the inland in manners, costumes, and interests, by the ease and velocity of railroad transit, would be independent to a great extent of local scenery. At the beginning of the century, the inland communications from the Yorkshire seacoast were lengthy enough to draw a sort of natural cordon co-extensive with the line of the bleak Yorkshire moors, and to stamp on the inhabitants of the Whitby dales an individual character, reflecting the habits and circumstances originating in the natural conditions of the district in which they were born and died. The long wind-swept ravines, reaching up from the sea to the moors, lying in such close parallelism to each other as to escape the eye of a stranger standing on the intervening ridges, or riggs, until he is close upon the declivity; their sheltered bottoms, rich with wood, and folding in the isolated farmhouses, so that close neighbors might live in absolute unconsciousness of each other's presence nearly the whole year round; the long piers stretching out far to seaward under the cliffs, and the hidden reefs of rock stretching out still futher; all are material to the truth and reality of a tale like *Sylvia's Lovers*, as the "folded hollow of the down" is to the scenic vividness of the little port which bred the Laureate's unlucky sailor. Mrs. Gaskell could hardly have wished for a higher compliment to her thorough sense of art and her power of seizing upon the right objects on which to expend liberally her artistic labor with a view to the effect of her whole picture, than the assertion that her descriptive handiwork would bear comparison with that of Tennyson.

Whatever Mrs. Gaskell wrote, she felt and entered into most thoroughly. Indeed, her only faults in judgment as a writer may be said to have arisen from over-sympathy with the work upon which her thoughts were concentrated for the time being. If *Mary Barton*, or *North and South*, do give an oblique view of the life they profess to represent; if the *Life of Charlotte Bronte* was defaced at one point by a momentary oblivion of justice to others; the error was the error of an enthusiastic woman, whose friendship had identified herself too unreservedly with everything relating to that of which she was writing. Where she rose to her highest point, Mrs. Gaskell not only showed a thorough mastery of her subject and her materials, but a judicial command over her feelings. By her death the world of letters has lost a thoroughly conscientious, industrious, pure-minded, imaginative, and vigorous artist.

A PERILOUS ADVENTURE.

ONLY twenty miles from Milford was the pleasant sea-side resort called Tenby, little known in my days, but now a fashionable bathing-place. It was a small town, of poor houses, built on a projecting point of land, with a fine hard sand-beach on each side, giving the bathers the choice of the north or south sands. Curiously shaped rocks form the coast, and one large cave, which is filled with water at high tide, but remains empty many hours in the day, was once the scene of great alarm to a governess and three little girls who were caught in it by the tide. She, who should have seen to the safety of her charge, was so absorbed by an agreeable book that she did not observe the rising tide, till the possibility of retreat was cut off by it. She was terribly frightened, but concealed her alarm from the children as well as she could, and made them climb up to a high ledge of rock and sit there with her. To pass away the time, she told them stories; but they grew very weary, and when the bottom of the cave was filled with water, and the waves began to dash upon the rocks beneath their feet, they were much terrified, and it was all the governess could do to comfort them and assuage their fears, whilst her own courage was ebbing fast; at last the youngest child fell asleep in her arms, and the other two nestled close to her on either side. There was no higher ledge of rock on which they could sit, and she feared they would fall into the flood below if she attempted to make them stand on the rock they were sitting on. As soon as the arched entrance into the cave was covered by the advancing tide, they were in perfect darkness, and that added much to the fearfulness of their position. At last the children cried out, in distressing tones, that their feet were wet, and the water was coming all over them. To which the governess replied, "Mine have been wet for some time; but never mind that; I don't think it will come higher than our knees." It was only after some mental exercise and earnest prayer that she was able to say this. Her words proved true. The tide did rise to her lap, and swelled up against them and all around them fearfully; but in a few more minutes its force seemed less, and presently they could be certain that it began to lower. Relieved from their terror, the two older children fell asleep, and then the governess was very anxious lest they should fall from their narrow perch and be drowned after all. Very long did the time seem before the tide retreated far enough for a little light to enter at the top of the entrance to the cave; but at length that light came, and not long after was heard the welcome sound of voices, and as soon as a boat could enter one came to their relief, with the father of the children in it. He found his little girls refreshed by their nap, and as lively and full of prattle as if no trouble had come near them; but their unhappy governess was utterly overcome. She could do nothing but weep, and afterwards fell into melancholy and died insane.—*Mrs. Farrar's Recollections.*

DR. MARIGOLD'S PRESCRIPTIONS.

DICKENS' CHRISTMAS STORY.

THE extra Christmas number of *All the Year Round* for this year is called "Dr. Marigold's Prescriptions," and seldom has Mr. Dickens' humor been more effectively put forth than in his description of his hero. Here it is:

"I am a Cheap Jack, and my own father's name was Willum Marigold. It was in his lifetime supposed by some that his name was William, but my own father always consistently said, No, it was Willum. On which point I content myself with looking at the argument in this way: If a man is not allowed to know his own name in a free country, how much is he allowed to know in a land of slavery? As to looking at the argument through the medium of the register, Willum Marigold come into the world before registers come up much—and went out of it too. They wouldn't have been greatly in his line neither, if they had chanced to come up before him.

"I was born on the Queen's highway, but it was the King's at that time. A doctor was fetched to my own mother by my own father, when it took place on a common; and in consequence of his being a very kind gentleman, and accepting no fee but a tea-tray, I was named Doctor, out of gratitude and compliment to him. There you have me. Doctor Marigold.

"I am at present a middle-aged man, of a broadish build, in cords, leggings, and a sleeved waistcoat, the strings of which is always gone behind. Repair them how you will, they go like fiddle-strings. You have been to the theatre, and you have seen one of the violin-players screw up his violin, after listening to it as if it had been whispering the secret to him that it feared it was out of order, and then you have heard it snap. That's as exactly similar to my waistcoat as a waistcoat and a violin can be like one another.

"I am partial to a white hat, and I like a shawl round my neck wore loose and easy. Sitting down is my favorite posture. If I have a taste in point of personal jewelry, it is mother-of-pearl buttons. There you have me again, as large as life."

Dr. Marigold has a wife who is a virago, and beats their child, a sweet little girl, who catches a low fever and dies. Mr. Dickens has seldom excelled this picture of the father with the jest on his lip and the dead, dull pain at his heart:

"I couldn't get the dear child to lie down or leave go of me, and, indeed, I hadn't the heart to try, so I stepped out on the footboard with her holding round my neck. They all set up a laugh when they see us, and one chuckle-headed joskin (that I hated for it) made the bidding 'tuppence for her.'

"'Now, you country boobies,' says I, feeling as if my heart was a heavy weight at the end of a broken sash-line, 'I give you notice that I am a going to charm the money out of your pockets, and to give you so much more than your money's worth that you'll only persuade yourselves to draw your Saturday night's wages over again afterwards, by the hopes of meeting me to lay 'em out with, which you never will, and why not? Because I've made my fortune by selling my goods on a large scale for seventy-five per cent. less than I give for 'em, and I am consequently to be elevated to the House of Peers next week, by the title of the Duke of Cheap and Markis Jackalooral.'

"'Now, let's know what you want to-night, and you shall have it. But, first of all, shall I tell you why I have got this little girl round my neck? You don't want to know? Then you shall. She belongs to the fairies. She's a fortune-teller. She can tell me all about you in a whisper, and can put me up to whether you're a-going to buy a lot or leave it. Now, do you want a saw? No, she says you don't, because you're too clumsy to use one. Else here's a saw which would be a life-long blessing to a handy man, at four shillings, at three and six, at three, at two and six, at two, at eighteen pence. But none of you shall have it at any price, on account of your well-known awkwardness, which would make it manslaughter. The same objection applies to this set of three planes which I won't let you have neither, so don't bid for 'em. Now I am a going to ask her what you do want.' (Then I whispered, 'Your head burns so that I am afraid it hurts you bad, my pet,' and she answered without opening her eyes, 'Just a little, father.') 'Oh! this little fortune-teller says it's a memorandum book you want. Then why didn't you mention it? Here it is. Look at it. Two hundred superfine hot-pressed wire-wove pages—if you don't believe me, count 'em—ready ruled for your expenses, an everlastingly-pointed pencil to put 'em down with, a double-bladed pen-knife to scratch 'em out with, a book of printed tables to calculate your income with, and a camp stool to sit down upon while you give your mind to it! Stop! and an umbrella to keep the moon off when you give your mind to it on a pitch dark night.'

"'Now I won't ask you how much for the lot, but how little? How little are you thinking of? Don't be ashamed to mention it, because my fortune-teller knows already.' (Then making believe to whisper, I kissed her, and she kissed me.) 'Why, she says you're thinking of as little as three and threepence! I couldn't have believed it, even of you, unless she told me. Three and threepence! And a set of printed tables in the lot that'll calculate your income up to forty thousand a year! With an income of forty thousand a year, you grudge three and sixpence. Well, then, I'll tell you my opinion. I so despise the threepence, that I'll sooner take the three shillings. There. For three shillings, three shillings, three shillings! Gone. Hand 'em over to the lucky man.'

"As there had been no bid at all, everybody looked about and grinned at everybody, while I touched little Sophy's face and asked her if she felt faint or giddy, 'Not very, father. It will soon be over.' Then turning from the pretty, patient eyes, which were opened now, and seeing nothing but grins across my lighted greasepot, I went on again in my Cheap Jack style.

"'Where's the butcher?' (My sorrowful eye had just caught sight of a fat young butcher on the outside of the crowd.) She says the good luck is the butcher's. 'Where is he?' Everybody handed on the blushing butcher to the front, and there was a roar, and the butcher felt himself obliged to put his hand in his pocket and take the lot. The party so picked out in general does feel obliged to take the lot—good four times out of six.

"'Then we had another lot the counterpart of that one, and sold it sixpence cheaper, which is always very much enjoyed. Then we had the spectacles. It ain't a very profitable lot, but I put 'em on, and I see what the Chancellor of the Exchequer is going to take off the taxes, and I see what the sweetheart of the young woman in the shawl is doing at home, and I see what the Bishops has got for dinner, and a deal more that seldom fails to fetch 'em up in their spirits; and the better their spirits the better their bids.

"'Then we had the ladies' lot—the teapot, teacaddy, glass sugar-basin, half a dozen spoons, and candle-cup—and all the time I was making similar excuses to give a look or two or say a word or two to my poor child. It was while the second ladies' lot was holding 'em enchained that I felt her lift herself a little on my shoulder, to look across the dark street. 'What troubles you, darling?' 'Nothing troubles me, father. I am not at all troubled. But don't I see a pretty churchyard over there?' 'Yes, my dear.' 'Kiss me twice, dear father, and lay me down to rest upon that churchyard grass, so soft and green.' I staggered back into the cart with her head dropped on my shoulder, and I says to her mother, 'Quick. Shut the door! Don't let those laughing people see.' 'What's the matter?' she cries. 'O woman, woman,' I tells her, 'you'll never catch my little Sophy by her hair again, for she has flown away from you.'"

The child dies and the wife drowns herself, and Dr. Marigold is very lonely. At length in a conversation with a giant, ("who was a languid young man, which I attribute to the distance betwixt his extremities," and who "was called Rinaldo de Velasco, his name being Pickleson,") he learns of another child, a deaf and dumb girl, who is ill-treated by the proprietor of a show. This child Dr. Marigold takes off the showman's hands, and how he educates her, and what "prescriptions" he gives her, and what becomes of her in the end, are all told.

ART AND PHOTOGRAPHY.

From the New Path.

PHOTOGRAPHY has reached such perfection of late, that evident confusion has arisen in the minds of many persons respecting the relative difference in value between it and Fine Art; and, in mere rendering of facts of external nature, at least, they think it may supersede Art,* whence, persons argue, it is useless for artists to employ themselves in recording the plain aspects of nature, but, instead of this, they should endeavor to produce works which should embody certain principles of abstract beauty, "unity of relation," etc., and thus "satisfy the artistic sense."

In view of these opinions, we submit the following remarks:

Photography can never supersede Fine Art; and, no matter what greater perfection of development it may reach, it will still remain just as imperative as ever that the artist should labor faithfully and patiently to record facts of natural aspects; this labor being the only way in which the artist's language can be learned, and his feelings disciplined to recognize the noblest conditions of truth and beauty.

But, irrespective of this, the photograph cannot supersede art, because no photograph can represent *complete* facts.

In photography, objects are represented in much the same way as they are in a Claude mirror. Gradations of shade are never truly rendered by either. In nature, objects are seen under intensely strong light, which admits of an infinitely wide range of gradation before reaching obscurity of shade. In photography, the pitch of light being necessarily as much lower than that of nature as paper is darker than the sun, the range of gradation is, of course, shortened in proportion, and many subtle and delicate forms are, consequently, merged in obscurity, while others are brought out in unnatural relief.

Now, much of the essential truth and loveliness of nature consists in these subtle and delicate forms and colors. Expression of space and infinity cannot be attained without a representation, in some way, of these. Nothing but the well-trained hand, guided by love and intelligence, can accomplish this. The truthful artist aims to represent the largest sum of most vital truth. His pitch of highest light is no greater than that of the photograph; but he works his gradations with the most careful economy, so as to obtain the greatest possible range, although none of the objects represented in a work of art can have the same relation to *all* the rest that they hold in nature, until we can find a pigment equal in intensity of light to the sun.

The technical superiority of art to photography in representing truths of nature, consists in its power so to *economize* these gradations as to represent more subtle and delicate forms before becoming merged into blackness, and thus to secure a larger aggregate of truth.

Photography is an infinitely valuable mechanism by which to obtain records of limited abstract truth, and, as such, may be of great service to the artist. Much may be learned about drawing by reference to a good photograph, that even a man of quick natural perceptions would be slow to learn without such help. But, unless the real shortcomings of the photograph are understood, it must certainly mislead if followed.

But beyond these merely technical matters, art differs from any mechanical process in being "the expression of man's delight in God's work," and thus it appeals to, and awakens all noble sympathy and right feeling. All labor of love must have something beyond mere mechanism at the bottom of it.

It is necessary for the artist in his studies to do much work that may appear to some persons like merely mechanical copying of nature; but it never is such in the hands of an artist of true feeling.

The technical qualities of a work of art are superior to those of a photograph, in that the former contains more fulness of consistent truth; but not in consequence of any superior beauty and delicacy over such gradations of forms as *are* given in the photograph; for no human hand can approach photography in this respect.

It is the artist's business, by harmoniously associated representations of truth and loveliness, to quicken love and gratify and inform the mind concerning the Creator's work, and to lead it to contemplate and dwell upon those things which it is good for human souls to heed.

* That is, of course, leaving *color* out of the question.

FASHIONABLE HAIR.

From the Athenæum.

PARIS, Nov., 1865.

IT is not certain that the golden-haired have so completely had their revenge as M. Jules Denizet, in an article called "The Revenge of the Red-Headed," is disposed to maintain. He goes back to Rome in the time of the Cæsars to remind his countrymen that in those days the mad and the bad among women were ordered by the edile—or, as M. Denizet says, the Prefect of Police of the period—to wear red hair. Red hair, then, was a mark of degradation. I would ask M. Denizet, who are the ladies who have brought red hair into fashion again? The red heads one sees in gay Victorias in the Chaussée d'Antin are not those whom Diana would welcome in her train. In vain are we reminded that even thieves in their slang—so general is the antipathy to red people—call the police the *rousse;* and that fashion has in a season destroyed the evil reputation of red hair. The red *chignon* that is proudly set up as a flag of glory has not changed heads much, it seems to me, since the days of the Romans. The givers of the red fashion are not models to be followed in any respect. It may be that through them the rehabilitation of the red-headed may be achieved in the eyes of the vulgar; but what if M. Denizet be told that what he calls red hair has been "rehabilitated" for very many years, and that only the vulgar, the unlettered, the unartistic, have called it by opprobrious names! With the intellectual and the refined the hair which is now in vogue has always been deemed a beauty. In their mad race for change, the ladies who lead fashion from the rear of Notre-Dame-de-Lorette have responded to the taste of the educated, to the fancy of the artist; and many black heads have been reddened for the delectation of many black sheep.

It is a pity, and this is what must be regretted, that the impudent paintings, and dyeings, and transformations of *ces dames* have influenced decent people, and led foolish women to talk about red hair or golden hair being in fashion, as though the glory of a "golden-tressed Adelaide" could be bought and adjusted like a bonnet! It would be as reasonable to talk about snub noses being in fashion. Let the Breda ladies dye their hair the color they may please to wear it—nay, let them variegate it, as they have already the coats of their poodles; but it must not be said that it is they who have brought into favor the golden-haired. The ruddy gold has always been the fashion—in every studio, in every poem, in every drawing-room. If the present rage for the color of Venus, of Diau, of the early virgins, does anything at all worth note, it is just to make the beautiful tress a little vulgar.

Now, here are a few of M. Denizet's reflections on the rehabilitation of the red-headed:

"The Romans got enormous quantities of hair from Germany. Most of it in the present day comes also from Germany, as well as Brittany and Normandy. Paris annually exports upwards of 100,000 kilograms (about 200,000 pounds) to England and America. A few years ago its price, from a living head, was from five to ten francs the kilogram, according to the length and color. Red hair, which was formerly unsaleable, except for dyeing, is this year at a premium; but the rage cannot last long. Hair of this color is generally coarse and harsh, and taste will, no doubt, soon return to black and blonde, which are twice as fine and three times as soft and glossy. Red hair dries, black and blonde thicken. The first preparation which hair undergoes immediately raises its price to eighty francs the kilogram. In our time the rehabilitation of the red-haired commenced in the 'Juif Errant,' in which Eugene Sue depicted Mdlle. de Cordoville in such glowing colors that, for her charming sake, the hitherto despised shade rose a little in public opinion. How many persons have we known seeking by every means in their power to turn the heated red into brown or chestnut! Oils, pomades, brass and leaden combs, were the supposed remedies, and, these failing, dye was resorted to.

"At school, the red-haired boy or girl was the butt for every joke, the scapegoat for every mischievous trick and escapade. If an inquiry was made as to the perpetrator of any offence, 'It was the *rouquin* who did it,' chorused the boys. 'It was the *rouquine*,' cried the girls! Children whose heads were dressed in red lost their patronymic at school, and were simply known as the *rouquin* or the *rouquine*. If, as was generally the case, freckles were an accompaniment, the victim was said to 'bear the brand of Judas' in his face! What wonder, then, if with this treatment the red-haired child became sullen and disagreeable, and in some sort merited the reputation given him beforehand? In the tale of 'The Fair Girl with the Golden Hair' no child could ever have imagined the face of the beautiful princess framed in red locks! Her hair must have been fine threads of real gold! As to a red-haired Princess, such a thing was never heard of! The fairy tale would have lost all its interest in the eyes of children had such a heroine been possible. Cooks even of this color were looked upon with dislike. Mistresses pretended that the peculiar odor of their hair lent itself unpleasantly to the sauces, turned the milk, and spoiled the jams!

"Now all that is changed: red hair is the *mode*. The young mother prays that her coming babe, if a girl, may have red locks, and, if it has, its fortune is made. The red-haired beauty is taking her revenge; she carries her *chignon* like a flag, and gathering under it, aided by fashion, every shade of chestnut, blonde and black, transforms them all into red. But *tout passe, tout lasse;* and to-morrow the *mode* may change. However, although the triumph of the red-haired may prove but that of a season—their glory but ephemeral—still there is no doubt that they will never descend to their former disagreeable position. The prejudice of ages having once been removed, they have been admitted to an equality with their more favored sisters. But now a word of advice and warning; let them descend a few steps of the ladder they have climbed so triumphantly, lest a speedy reaction may precipitate them therefrom.

M. Denizet is mistaken. It is not the legitimate owners of red or golden hair who are exulting. The proud wearers of golden tresses are the ladies who have bought their *chignons*. The saucy airs of triumph are put on by those who have black hair, and can afford to stain it to the fashionable tint.

B. J.

THE GREAT BREAD AND BUTTER QUESTION.

From the Examiner.

THE quarrel of the Oxford Undergraduates with their bread and butter is the beginning of an end. It is not because it is a small thing that it is to be slighted. *Ilic nugæ in seria ducunt.* Seamen describe the force of storms, not by the effects upon great things but small. They do not say, except in nautical dramas, that it blows great guns, but that "it blows hard enough to blow the buttons off your coat." The French have a similar expression, and say "it blows hard enough to unhorn an ox." And so the bread and butter question is great, because it is small, and yet shaking the foundations of all the venerable abuses of the University. In fact, the bread and butter question once opened, will be carried all through life. There will be a bread and butter question in the church, in the state, in the army, the navy, where not? It is a beginning at the beginning, and from the Alpha the road is straight and inevitable to the Omega. Already the agitation has brought some academic curiosities to the surface, and we are filled with admiration at the perfection to which the division of labor is carried in the most famous of the Oxford Colleges, Christ Church. An Undergraduate writes to the *Times*:

Yesterday evening the dinner provided for the mess to which I belong was, as usual, perfectly cold. We accordingly sent for the manciple; and, after complaining to him, requested him also to observe that the hot-water dish on which the meat is placed was not only not properly heated, but as cold as the meat upon it.

"Oh! sir," replies the official, "I have nothing to do with that. That is the business of ——, the general butler." —— is accordingly sent for.

"Have you the charge of heating these dishes?"—"No, sir; the other butler does that. I've got to look after the spoons and forks."—"Send the other butler, then."

Presently "the other butler" arrives, and the following dialogue ensues:

"You have to see that this dish is properly heated?"—"Yes, sir."—"Then, why is it as cold as ice to-night?" "But, I haven't the charge of heating the water, sir."

We were getting tired of sending for people now; but, determined to get to the bottom of the matter, if possible, we had up the cook's boy, who, as Butler No. 2 said, had to heat the water.

We expostulated with the boy, and received some excuse about "a hole in the boiler," and "not being able to get it mended on Sunday." Then, "Anyhow, if there isn't more water in the thing than there is to-day, it will never keep anything hot." "Oh, sir, I have nothing to do with putting the water in. I've only to heat it before it is put in."

That is sublime. Very wisely, inquiry was carried no further. The question whose business it was to put the hot water into the dish might either have revealed too complicated an agency, or a missing link in the chain of causation for keeping meat hot. But how good it is for Oxford that it should be so afflicted. Here is practical education in domestic economy, which must lead up to the high branches concerning statesmanship springing from the same modest root. Thoughts on Economical Reform have here their beginning in the best of all schools for measures, that in which the shoe pinches.

LEAVES FROM A NOTE-BOOK.

"How wonderful is this rock on which I am lying; a little world of varied beauty and interest, changing with every new inch of surface. Look down closely upon it, so as to shut out the surrounding world, and concentrate the attention upon the minutest details. How impossible to see all or even the greater part of this detail, until after long, patient, and loving study. Looking down upon the rock from our five feet seven of height as we stand, the eye distinguishes divisions, layers of more or less marked difference in color; it observes quartz, feldspar, mica, and the mosses and lichens which stain its surface. In a shallow rift filled with earth, bunches of grass, dried with the heat, show a few green blades and waving stems. Farther down, in a larger oasis, about the size of a dinner napkin, I see a larger tuft of grass, from the middle of which rises a little nut tree and a cedar, each about eighteen inches high. Farther down, the quartz appears in larger stains, and in other crevices a few small mullens have sprung up. Below, there is a taller cedar, this time six feet high at least, and near it the stump of what has been another, which before it was cut down may have gained twelve feet, for below, where, indeed, the soil begins to cover the rock somewhat thickly, there is a fine cedar twenty feet high at the least, with a brave little nut-tree and a wild-cherry keeping it company; but this is at the very outskirts of the rock. I do not step over the border where the soil begins to cover it out of sight; but these things are what the eye can see without minute examination—without lying down upon the rock itself. One thing more, we notice, that the rock is not long left really bare. The soil indeed disappears, but lichens and mosses cover it thickly on the north side, and spot it everywhere.

"But now lie down, and look closely, and see how the world changes. A new life developes itself. It is no longer the rock which is prominent; it is the life of the rock; that which before was mere incident becomes now the individual. This streak, which seemed from above a nearly uniform gray, on closer looking we find composed of quartz, shaded from white to smoky amethyst inlaid in mica, which, in its turn, is set with minute pin-point crystals of horn blende, and garnets of various sizes, some clear and sparkling but small, other masses much larger, but dull in color. Then, again, it is difficult to find so much as a square inch on which the moss has not begun to grow, which it does by little erect plants exceedingly small at first, and of the darkest green. The lichens, also, do their share, throwing out their seeds, which take root in the immediate vicinity of the mother plant, and like the mosses show from the first the color of the mother plant. All this time not a word of the animal life, from the ants which scour the rock in every direction, untiring and unsatisfied—I saw two just now lugging along a bit of fat pork, the remnant of somebody's luncheon in weeks gone by, as big at least as fifty ants;—to the little burning orange-scarlet spider who moves with such rapidity that it is difficult to see if he has legs, much less to count them. And just now, on a bright clear-green leaf of wild cherry there lighted a fairy fly exquisitely delicate in shape, and with a body of such vivid, but pale, green enamel as was delicious to see. And this is the rock which we see in pictures, painted with a few daubs of gray, and perhaps blotted here and there with a patch of green!"

"Even in F's picture, the inexplicable modern love of dull color, of sober hues has made its influence felt. This has coupled itself with an equally inexplicable dislike of definite forms; of patterns—whether considered as arrangements of lines, or of colors of ornaments—jewelry or other; and, at last, of detail everywhere. The fatal error of so-called generalization has crept in everywhere, and putting its stigma on individualism, has reduced Art to an unhappy mask. A Venetian or Fleming would have put in place of this dull brown curtain, or wall-paper, behind F's subject a curtain with some well designed, interesting pattern, and either in bright color, or in black relieved with gold. Thus, behind the Virgin, in the excellent copy from Hewlin in the Bryan gallery—'Joseph and Mary,' according to the catalogue; but, is it not rather Elizabeth and Zacharias?—there hangs a beautiful bit of tapestry, a black pattern on a ground of gold. Nor is the love of these things entirely dead among the moderns. Baron Leys and James Tissot have done very interesting things in this way. On the hem of Margaret's apron, in Tissot's picture in the Artists' Fund, there is a bit of embroidery very ingenious in color and form."

July 4, 1865. —*New Path.*

GROSS PLAGIARISM IN THE LONDON TIMES.

THE *Saturday Review* exposes a scandalous case of plagiarism in the London *Times*. Not long ago was reprinted at the Oxford Press, in England, Bishop Burnet's "History of the Reformation of the Church of England." The editor, MR. POCOCK, in an elaborate preface, gave a full account of the method adopted and the difficulties encountered by him in his task. Ten thousand errors of copying in the collection of records, had been detected and amended.

The *Times* gave an elaborate review of the work—or what pretended to be such—occupying more than three columns and a half. "We began to read with some interest," says the *Saturday Review*, "but, as we proceeded, a suspicion arose that we had read it before. Certain familiar forms of expression occurred which induced us to compare the article and the preface. And we soon discovered that the writer of the preface and the article, instead of being two persons, were one and the same. We must at once acquit the editor of Burnet of being a party to the transaction, for, as will be seen in the sequel, the deception is too clumsy to allow of any such supposition. So we confine ourselves to the remark that, with the exception of sixteen lines of laudation at the beginning of the article, and two or three words more or less skilfully inserted at intervals to give